JOSEPH SMITH'S INTRODUCTION OF TEMPLE ORDINANCES AND THE 1844 MORMON SUCCESSION QUESTION

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by

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This thesis, by Andrew F. Ehat, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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In the process of this study of the Temple and Succession, numerous additional insights to the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came from various records. Besides the role temple ordinances played in clarifying the succession from Joseph Smith to the Twelve Apostles in 1844, this work presents for the first time comprehensive data on individuals and on the nature of the meetings in which temple ordinances were performed during the lifetime of the Prophet. There is herein presented a considerable refinement of the chronological framework regarding the introduction of the temple ordinances of endowment, eternal marriage, plural marriage, and the fulness of the priesthood--a framework crucial to new interpretations of the history of the Church in Nauvoo and beyond. The following is a summary of the data and new interpretations of this study.

The historical and doctrinal context of Joseph Smith's introduction of sacred temple ordinances is explored, as appropriate, in detail as never before done.

Joseph Smith's public teachings on the meaning of temple ordinances are analyzed afresh based on contemporary source materials.

Important new source materials (including the diaries of William Clayton and William Law) are here first discussed together in their temple ordinance-related context.

A deeper analysis of the original sources of the History of the Church regarding temple ordinance meetings in Nauvoo is presented. In particular, decipherment and interpretation of shorthand in the Joseph Smith diary reveals for the first time the dates of the eternal marriage sealings of Joseph and Emma Smith, Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith, Brigham and Mary

Ann Young, and Willard and Jeanetta Richards--sealings that took place a year before the Martyrdom.

The previously undiscussed difficulty that Hyrum Smith had with plural marriage and this difficulty's effect on the introduction of temple ordinances is made clear. The episode particularly gives fresh insight into Joseph Smith's religious convictions regarding this practice.

It also provides insight into the apostasies of John C. Bennett and William Law and reveals the nature of alleged denials of plural marriage in 1842 and 1844.

Anomalies in the ecclesiastical interrelationships among the First Presidency and among the Twelve Apostles are represented by who did and who did not receive certain temple ordinances. In particular, the reasons for the intentional exclusion of Sidney Rigdon and his replacement in the First Presidency by Amasa Lyman is addressed.

The temple-related context and meanings within the newly discovered Joseph Smith III designation document is discussed in depth for the first time.

New insight into the operations of the Council of Fifty provides important understanding of the activities of Joseph Smith shortly before his death.

A date for Joseph Smith's "Last Charge" is here given and is placed in its historical context.

The Sidney Rigdon excommunication trial is analyzed because of its pervasive discussion of the temple and succession. In particular, this discussion makes clear Sidney Rigdon's illegitimate attempt to institute his own version of the Council of Fifty and of the temple ordinances.

Within the perspective of temple ordinances, the relationship of the Twelve Apostles and Joseph Smith's wife and children is discussed.

I owe deep gratitude to so many people in the production of this work that simply to list them all would require many pages. The following are preeminent:

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Materials used in this study were gleaned principally from the Church Archives, the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Other institutions included Special Collections, Archives and Manuscripts, and the Microfilm Reading Room--all in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of

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I wish now to give special acknowledgment to my committee. To Dr. James B. Allen, chairman of the Department of History and chairman of my committee, and to Dr. D. Michael Quinn, I owe unbounded gratitude for their patience and skill. They have given great encouragement, shared important source materials, and provided insight that has been invaluable. Their advice and guidance will always be appreciated. I am

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For my dear wife, Lori, I hope this work justifies her unfailing trust that my research was important. Regardless of how intense the research and writing became, she has never been far from my thoughts and has nobly endured the sacrifices required. I dedicate this work to her. I also express affectionate gratitude to my children because they, too, have wonderfully persevered.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the late afternoon of a sultry day in June 1844, a mob of over one hundred disguised men stormed a jail in obscure Carthage village in frontier Illinois and murdered Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum. Two others were in the room at the time. One was wounded quite severely and the other escaped unharmed. This was not an uncommon event. During other restless, hot summers of the ante-bellum period of American history many others suffered fates similar to these two men. Often before, other vigilantes had rallied volunteers to their cruel causes as these 1844 rioters did, saying, "The law will not reach them, but powder and ball will!"[1] Civilized communities condoned such conduct then. If existing systems of justice could not control the heavy-handed activities of a minority, in the name of "law and order," violence would do what ineffectual laws could not do: enforce the will of the majority.[2]

However, Joseph Smith was not destined to be another faceless name striken from history by mob violence of Jacksonian America. This was the Joseph Smith—Joseph the Prophet of Mormonism. Since 1830 he had been the charismatic leader of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During his fourteen years of leadership, he and the Church of Christ often faced stormy times. In less than nine years, Church headquarters moved from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Missouri and

finally from Missouri to Illinois. Each time, the Church sought a new place for refuge from the storm of persecution. To be sure, Mormon beliefs, attitudes, and practices often provoked outsiders. Joseph Smith, as the visible center of activity, was often the target of counterattacks. Personally accused over forty times, he faced charges for alleged crimes of murder, conspiracy to commit murder, treason, fraud, and adultery. Yet he was always released.[3]

From the Church's beginnings he was acknowledged as the prophet of the last gospel dispensation--"the dispensation of the fulness of times."[4] He was to his followers the Lord's "Prophet, Seer and Revelator."[5] As such he revealed the mind and will of God in the administration of God's earthly Kingdom. Through inspiration, he translated such ancient records as the Book of Mormon. He had his dictated revelations compiled for publication; first, as the Book of Commandments (1833), and, later, as the Book of Doctrine and Covenants (1835). He also "translated" the Bible--revealing and restoring missing texts and contexts for that ancient scripture. Though this latter work was never published during his life, several times he was on the verge of publishing it.[6] By an appointment he believed he received from God, he was seen as the foremost representative of Christ to the Church.

During the Church's Illinois period, Joseph emerged more than ever before as the focal point of the restoration movement. While his spiritual stature enlarged, his people also welcomed increased political and social direction from him. When Nauvoo city was formed, he was commissioned lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion--a state outfitted militia--and was appointed a member of the board of regents of Nauvoo University. But three years after he founded this Mississippi river

town, he became its mayor.[7] His influence and importance to the Church and community grew during the Nauvoo period. He was Nauvoo's pre-eminent religious, political, social, commercial and civic leader.[8] While such prominence was welcomed by the majority of the Saints, anti-Mormon's believed that if Joseph Smith were killed, Mormonism would fall. Assured of his own divine calling, as late as January 1843 he disagreed: "I understand my mission and business. God Almighty is my shield and what can man do if God is my friend? I shall not be sacrificed until my time comes; then I shall be offered freely."[9]

He lived fully convinced of the magnificence of his calling. To him, martyrdom could not be the final act of his prophetic calling, for with such comments he had assured his followers that the blood of the martyrs would become the seed of the Church.

Joseph Smith, however, had not engaged in mere dramatic, over-pessimistic rhetoric. The most important scenes of the Restoration movement--scenes he announced early in the Nauvoo experience--still had to be enacted. With a sure sense of destiny, he had been actively engaged in these developments until a few months before his death.

Joseph Smith's road to his personal Gethsemane began in the summer of 1843. Perhaps it was not so much the influence he had had on Nauvoo as it was his apparent power in county and state politics that irked non-Mormons of Hancock County. Tensions began to build between Mormons and non-Mormons as a result of the August 1843 county and state elections.[10] A slate of Mormon candidates handily won county positions. For example, James Adams, twenty-two-year resident of Springfield and president of the branch of the Church there, shortly before the elections decided to move to Nauvoo to become a candidate for

the probate judgeship of Hancock County. Adams, the first lawyer in Sangamon County history, had been elected that county's probate judge continuously for eighteen years. His move to Nauvoo seemed quite unexpected, but with the help of the Mormon vote he won the election. Although Adams died only a few days later, and never served in office, still many non-Mormons of the county were furious a carpetbagger could come in and win. Naturally, Joseph bore the brunt of the criticism for such apparent maneuvering.[11]

If the results of county elections were disheartening to non-Mormons, Mormon influence on a state election was more damning. The results of the 1843 U.S. Congressional campaign showed that the Mormons, who seemed at the last minute to switch their vote from the Whig candidate, Cyrus Walker, to the Democratic candidate, Joseph P. Hoge, made the difference as to which man went to Congress. To many in the county and the state, Joseph Smith, by his religious influence, single-handedly affected the outcome of this controversial Congressional campaign. Joseph Smith's apparent mixing of politics and religion was too much for many of the non-Mormon populace to tolerate.[12]

When Joseph announced the following winter that he was going to seek the presidency of the United States, it signaled to anti-Mormons that he and his zealots were mad with power; they believed that the Mormons, so enamored with their own political influence, gloated in their ability to manipulate either party. In the heat of the campaign, when so many of the leaders of the Church were stumping for Joseph's candidacy, an opposition party decided to expose what they saw as the religious, economic and political authoritarianism of the Mormon prophet. Consisting of a few influential recent dissenters from the

Church, the opposition party bought a printing press and in early June struck off the first issue of the Nauvoo Expositor. Three days later, after lengthy city council deliberations, Mayor Joseph Smith ordered the destruction of the press. The county was soon aroused. Thomas Sharp, editor of the rabidly anti-Mormon Warsaw Signal, worked up the feelings of the opposition.

> We have only to state that this is sufficient! War and extermination is inevitable! CITIZENS ARISE, ONE AND ALL!!! Can you stand by, and suffer such INFERNAL DEVILS! to ROB men of their property rights, without avenging them. We have no time for comment! everyman will make his own. LET IT BE WITH POWDER AND BALL![13]

The Expositor affair convinced many in Hancock County that Joseph was an unconscienced demagogue who would defy all law. He had violated the sanctity of the press--one of America's most sacred institutions--and if the law could not remedy such insolence then the vigilante vengeance that Sharp called for would execute the will of the majority. Only two weeks after Sharp's call to arms, Joseph Smith was dead at the hands of a mob led by men of "property and standing." The community apparently assented to this form of justice. It was the only way to quell the menace of the Mormons and their Mohammad.[14]

It was not until early the following morning that Nauvoo, only 14 miles away, heard the awful news. Grief and mourning and disbelief reigned. Paralyzed Mormon men, women and children awaited final proof. Finally, in mid-afternoon the bodies arrived. The following day, 29 June 1844, approximately 10,000 persons formed a steady stream past the remains of the Prophet and the Patriarch lying in state. For the first time the Church was left leaderless at its highest echelon.[15]

The Question of Succession

What would become of the Church? Would it rebound from the shock of the murders? Would Mormonism's lesser lights handle the transition of leadership smoothly and without significant social trauma?

In an important study of these 1844 Mormon succession questions, a study which was not merely a summary of previous views and evidence but also a significant publication of previously unused source materials, D. Michael Quinn posed several theoretical methods of succession that either were outlined explicitly by or could be inferred from the teachings and revelations Joseph Smith presented during his fourteen years of Church leadership.[16] Quinn presented eight possible methods of succession: (1) by a counselor in the First Presidency, (2) by a special appointment, (3) through the office of Associate President, (4) by the Presiding Patriarch, (5) by the Council of Fifty, (6) by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, (7) by four priesthood councils,[17] and, (8) by a descendant of Joseph Smith, Jr.[18] Ostensibly, all but three of these options were open for consideration in the quest for an immediate successor. Method three and four were specifically ruled out because Hyrum Smith, who was both Associate President and Presiding Patriarch, was also killed at Carthage and could not, therefore, succeed to the Presidency. Because none of Joseph Smith's sons were old enough to have assumed the Presidency at the time of their father's death, method number eight was unfeasible as an immediate option. The other five possibilities were equally viable alternatives.

However, in April and May before his death, U.S. presidential candidate Joseph Smith sent out hundreds on missions to electioneer for

his political and spiritual platform. Consequently, nearly all the principal persons who would play a role in the succession options were away from Nauvoo at the time of his death. Of the surviving First Presidency, both Sidney Rigdon and Amasa Lyman were away in the East. So too were the majority of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, William Smith, John E. Page and Lyman Wight. Apostles John Taylor and Willard Richards were exceptions: they were with Joseph and Hyrum when Carthage Jail was stormed by the mob. Because one of the projects of the Council of Fifty was the presidential campaign of the Prophet, they, too, were scattered throughout the country campaigning for his election. However, William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake High Council and a member of the Council of Fifty, was in town.[19]

Owing to the 1981 discovery of the text of a blessing-revelation, we now know that on 17 January 1844, six months before his death, Joseph Smith identified his son, Joseph Smith III, as his eventual successor.[20] This discovery has naturally renewed the historical relevance of the 1844 Mormon succession question. Because Joseph III was only eleven years old at the time of his father's death, an interim leadership was essential.[21] In fact, in the period immediately after the death of Joseph Smith, the question of succession was whether the Quorum of the Twelve (the second leading governing body of the Church) should succeed a disorganized First Presidency (the leading quorum of the Church), or if Sidney Rigdon (a surviving member of that Presidency) should alone superintend the Quorum of the Twelve

and, consequently, the whole Church. Most Mormons chose to follow Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Quinn's study showed, however, that the 1844 Mormon succession problem in Nauvoo was potentially more involved than it turned out to be. Now it is necessary to ask: Did both the apostles and Sidney Rigdon disregard the many teachings of Joseph Smith on succession--in particular, Joseph Smith's designation of his son as successor? For 120 years, this question has been of paramount importance to the two main bodies of the Restoration movement: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which traces its authority back to Joseph Smith in a succession of apostles, and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which claims its succession through lineal descendants of Joseph Smith. If Joseph Smith was serious when he often maintained that he might soon die, did he do anything to identify which of the other myriad methods (of options 1, 2, 5, 6, or 7) available in 1844 would be the transition option until Joseph Smith III came of age? When he blessed his son, was Joseph Smith in the midst of chartering a previously unrevealed course for the Church and Kingdom of God which established the direction that interim leadership would follow and solidified the instructions and authority that that leadership would eventually have to give to Joseph Smith III before he could, in harmony with his father's implicit wishes, assume the role of successor? Finally, because the Twelve Apostles succeeded in gathering the largest part of the movement, how did they reconcile their claim to the Presidency with the expectations of Joseph Smith regarding his son?

This work will demonstrate that Joseph Smith's introduction of temple ordinances were not merely illustrative of but central to the only possible immediate alternative for leadership: presidency by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. This paper will present the history of Joseph Smith's introduction of temple ordinances,[22] and it will show how the Twelve Apostles made as plain as permissible in public the fundamental temple ordinance concepts underpinning their claim for interim leadership.[23] Joseph Smith's activities (especially his private actions with the Twelve) implicitly charted the course the Apostles would be required to take after his death. This is true because they were the only priesthood quorum of the Church that had received all of the ordinances Joseph Smith administered. The surviving members of the First Presidency (Sidney Rigdon and Amasa Lyman) had not received all the ordinances and, consequently, were not prepared to administer the capstone blessings of the faith without consulting the Twelve (see Figure 1). Thus, the Twelve Apostles became the sympathetic stewards of Joseph Smith's revelations on the "higher" priesthood ordiances: the endowment, eternal marriage, plural marriage, and the fulness of the priesthood. The Twelve Apostles articulated well that their knowledge of and participation in Joseph Smith's temple ordinances was fundamental to their assuming immediate leadership of the Church in 1844.

July 1844 Succession Concerns

The immediate concerns of those involved with the problems of succession in July 1844 pointed to a little-known group of individuals who possessed knowledge and understanding that would, for the minds of

most in Nauvoo, later prove crucial to the resolution of the succession question. In particular, a certain "Quorum" played an implicitly important role during the initial discussion of the succession question immediately after the death of Joseph Smith.

The pressures on the active and growing Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints made leaders appear disrespectful to Joseph Smith, as if disregarding his death. Despite the loss of the Church's great leader, the daily demands on the financial and spiritual resources of the Church in Nauvoo continued. Immigrants needed to find places to stay; non-Mormons who had business with Joseph and the Church had legitimate concerns with regard to whom they were to turn in order to settle their accounts. It is little wonder Joseph's chief lieutenants immediately had to handle such business and social concerns and had little time to mourn the passing of their Seer.

The initial question of those in Nauvoo concerned with the succession was how to handle appropriately the personal and Church financial affairs of Joseph Smith.[24] When Joseph Smith filed with the Hancock County Recorder a petition dated 1 February 1841 as "sole Trustee in Trust for the Church" he said he would "Hold [this] office during life (my successors to be the First Presidency of said Church)."[25] This legal instrument was recorded in the county records at Carthage; those in Nauvoo could have pointed to the fact that none of the surviving members of the First Presidency were within hundreds of miles of Nauvoo and thus creditors would have had to await the return of these authorities or, the establishment of a new First Presidency, before their business could be settled. However, no one in Nauvoo relied on this precedent. Those who dealt head-on with the question of

succession raised issues fundamental to the way succession occurred by what they did rather than what they could have done.[26]

Immediately following the Martyrdom the mother of the Prophet, Lucy Mack Smith, and Joseph's widow, Emma, were concerned particularly about their family's economic security. Lucy was now a widow with no surviving son living in Nauvoo.[27] Emma was the mother of four young children.[28] Five days after the murder of her husband, Emma became concerned about the situation of the estate because Mother Smith already was "making disturbance about the property in Joseph's hands."[29] The Prophet's clerk, William Clayton, who had handled and knew the business of the Trustee-in-Trust as well as any man, reflected in his journal after a lengthy talk with Emma on the subject: "There is considerable danger if the family begin to dispute about the property that J[oseph]'s creditors will come forward and use up all the property there is. If they will keep still there is property enough to pay the debts and plenty left for other uses."[30] The following day, 3 July 1844, after discussing estate affairs with Esquire James W. Wood, Emma sent for and discussed the situation with William Clayton, Alpheus Cutler and Reynolds Cahoon.[31] The next day, Clayton aided Wood in reviewing the estate. The preliminary analysis was depressing. The credits were considered in the name of the Trustee-in-Trust, but the debts were considered the Prophet's personal responsibility. The complicated nature of the financial affairs of the Prophet seemed to some individuals to demand immediate attention. That evening Clayton, Cutler and Cahoon met at William Marks's home to discuss what should be done. "It seemed manifest to us," Clayton recorded, "that brother Marks [the

Nauvoo Stake President and President of the influential Nauvoo High Council] place is to be appointed president and Trustee in Trust."[32] It is not stated whether Emma was at this "Council"; however, Clayton recorded that "this [solution] accords with Emma's feelings."[33] Within two days, however, other options opened. When Lucien Woodworth laid claim to some wood that came to Nauvoo expressly for the "Trustee in Trust" some of "the brethren" said that because Clayton was Joseph's agent while the Prophet was alive, Clayton should take charge of the wood and act as agent until a permanent successor was appointed.[34] The cautious Clayton observed that

> The greatest danger that no[w] threatens us is dissensions and strifes amongst the Church. There are already 4 or 5 men pointed out as successors to the Trustee & President & there is danger of feelings being manifest. All the brethren who stand at the head seem to feel the delicacy of the business.[35]

Until the agitation on Tuesday 2 July, concerns over the Trustee-in-Trust were not foremost in the mind of apostle Willard Richards. Because John Taylor was still recovering from his wounds received at Carthage and because no member of Joseph's First Presidency was yet in Nauvoo, Richards assumed the lead. He had, for example, pledged to Governor Thomas Ford, on behalf of all the Saints, that nothing would be done against the murderers legally or extra-legally—making this pledge before anyone in Nauvoo knew of the murders.[36] Moreover, he had been so preoccupied with the safe conveyance and burial of the bodies, that he had no time to sit in council until 30 June. At a council meeting held Sunday evening 30 June, Willard Richards took charge and prepared the following letter requesting the return of the remainder of the Quorum of the Twelve.

> Beloved Brother Brigham Young,--for the first moment we have had the opportunity, by request of such brethren of the Council as we could call, we write to inform you of the situation of affairs in Nauvoo and elsewhere. . . . Elder George J. Adams is deputed [by the Council] to convey this to you. . . . [T]he request of the council is, that the Twelve return to Nauvoo, the lives of twelve more are threatened with deadly threats. It has been suggested by the council, that if the Twelve approved, President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, and Orson Pratt return immediately; and William Smith, whose life is threatened, with all the Smiths, John E. Page, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde spend a little time in publishing the news in the eastern cities, and getting as many in the church as possible. This is for you to decide. . . . The council consider it best for all the traveling elders to stop preaching politics--preach the gospel with double energy, and bring as many to the knowledge of the truth as possible.[37]

Clearly, Richards's use of the editorial "we" does not camouflage that he was the one who called "the council." What was this council? Clayton summarized the proceedings and referred to "the council" simply by saying, "A few of the Quorum assembled and agreed to send G. J. Adams to bear the news to the Twelve."[38]

Vilate Kimball, wife of apostle Heber C. Kimball, heard that this "Quorum" was sending George Adams to be sure the Twelve understood the real situation. She hastily prepared a letter for Adams to take with Elder Richards's letter:

> We are kept awake night after night by the alarm of mobs. These apostates say, their damnation is sealed, their die is cast, their doom is fixed, and they are determined to do all in their power to have revenge. [William] Law says he wants nine more, that was in his quorum. Some time[s] I am afraid he will get them. I have no doubt but you are on[e].[39]

Vilate then gave the source for this fear (also expressed by Richards in his letter) regarding the safety of "Quorum" members:

> What makes me feer, is from a circumstance that took place when the legion was first called out to defend the city [17 June 1844, ten days before the Martyrdom]. There was several Drums found with blood on, no one could account for it. They examined to see how many there was, they found tenn, and while they were

> examining the eleventh there came a large drop on that. . . . [William Law] has got two if he gets the nine more it will make eleven. But I try to submit all things into the hands of God.[40]

The rumor apparently was widespread. Sally Randall, writing to her "dear friends" a day after Vilate, said the men responsible for the murders "say there is nine more they are determined to have."[41] Certainly this was all hearsay; nevertheless, members of some "Quorum" were not only concerned, but considered such warnings as fact. Similarly based on secondhand information, William Clayton recorded in his journal the day after the Martyrdom the names of those who killed the Prophet and Patriarch at Carthage--an event to which he was not an eyewitness. Heading his list was this name: "William Law, who was one of Joseph's council and a member of the Quorum."[42] Even the day after the killing, this "Quorum" was a focus of attention.

On 7 July 1844, in the wake of the concerns over the vacancy in the Trustee-in-Trust position and the press of Church financial matters, at 5 p.m. "the Quorum [met] on the subject of appointing a Trustee in Trust."[43] William Clayton, though late to the meeting, arrived soon enough to find that "[t]he brethren had agreed not to appoint a trustee untill the Twelve came home, and that [William Clayton] should act in the place of Trustee to receive property &c untill one was appointed."[44] Thus the "Quorum" concluded to ratify Clayton as agent for Trustee rather than appoint William Marks as permanent Trustee-in-Trust and President of the Church as had been considered by some during the previous week--notably Clayton, Cahoon, Cutler, Marks, and Emma.

While Clayton was working at the Temple the next day (8 July), Emma went to visit with him. Emma "objected to the conclusion of the

council last evening," Clayton recorded that evening in his journal; Emma also said "there must be a Trustee appointed this week on account of the situation of business."[45] Four days later, on the 12th, Clayton again was at the Temple working and this time "Prest. Marks came up to enquire which was best to do about appointing a Trustee." Clayton and Marks decided by themselves that rather than abide the decision of the "Quorum" they would "call a meeting [for 2 p.m. that afternoon] of the several presidents of Quorums" and obtain their counsel. Apparently Clayton and Marks went to organize the meeting. As Clayton returned home to lunch, Newel K. Whitney, general Church Bishop and long-time staunch follower of the Prophet, walked with Clayton and, according to Clayton, "stated his feelings about Marks being appointed Trustee." Bishop Whitney then reminded Elder Clayton of something he knew too well--"the fact of Marks being with [William] Law and Emma in opposition to Joseph and the quorum." Whitney warned that "if Marks [were] appointed Trustee our spiritual blessings [would] be destroyed inasmuch as he [was] not favorable to the most important matters." Bishop Whitney said regarding the Trustee-in-Trust that "[t]he Trustee must of necessity be the first president of the church." That Whitney did not have in mind either of the two surviving members of the First Presidency, he made perfectly clear to Clayton, for he concluded this interview by saying that "Joseph . . . said that if he and Hyrum were taken away Samuel H. Smith [the Prophet's brother] would be his successor."[46] The week before, however, Lucy Mack Smith wanted Samuel to be the Patriarch.[47] Various, then, were the theories in the question of succession.

When this interview with Bishop Whitney was concluded, Clayton went to lunch. After lunch he talked with Cutler and Cahoon on the subject. "They both agreed in the same mind with bro. Whitney & myself," he recorded in his journal.[48] Then, at 3 p.m. Clayton, Cahoon, Cutler, Marks, Emma, Willard Richards, and the newly arrived apostle, Parley P. Pratt, met at Emma's home to discuss the trustee-in-trust question.[49] She had received a letter from New York on the 8th demanding payment on $6,000 of old debts.[50] In apparent confirmation of Bishop Whitney's observation about Emma, Marks and Law, Emma wanted Marks to be appointed Trustee.[51] However, "on investigation it was considered we could not lawfully do it," Clayton reported.[52] They appointed another meeting for Sunday 14 July 1844. The conclusion of this meeting was the same as the "Quorum" had decided on the 7th--to await the return to Nauvoo of the remainder of the Twelve Apostles.[53]

In a related development during this period, Clayton, Emma, and others felt that Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt and William W. Phelps had been keeping matters close to themselves. Clayton was offended by this apparent maneuvering, and Emma thought she was being treated unfairly. The next day Clayton spoke with Richards and Phelps about this. "[I] told them our feelings" and Richards and Phelps opened up to Clayton. They told Clayton that when the Twelve returned they personally wanted to nominate him and Alpheus Cutler as trustees. When Clayton went to see Emma following the discussion, she seemed satisfied with the results.[54]

The majority of a certain "Quorum" in Nauvoo at this time opposed the appointment of William Marks as successor and trustee. They

believed that because William Law, Emma Smith and William Marks (all members of this "Quorum") were opposed to Joseph and the Quorum on certain matters--in fact, as they put it, on "the most important matters"--if Marks were permitted to be Trustee, they and the Quorum, and the Church would have its highest "spiritual blessings destroyed."[55]

Definition of the "Quorum"

What was this "Quorum"? Why was it so important? Who were members of it? When and where did the "Quorum" begin?

Each of the references to the "Quorum" used above referred to a single group--a group of 36 men and 29 women who received the temple endowment ordinances during the lifetime of Joseph Smith.[56] Only to this "Quorum" did Joseph Smith give the complete ordinances, doctrines, and teachings that comprised the capstone blessings of Mormonism. These ordinances were Joseph Smith's institutionalization of the Mormon theology of God and man. Joseph Smith declared that during life humans could acquire tremendous powers. From 1842-1844--by introducing temple ordinances--he ceremonialized the process by which such powers, blessings, and authority could be conferred on the "true and faithful." Throughout his fourteen-year ministry he developed and solidified his conceptions of the ordinances that were essential to the restoration of "the ancient order of things," including the blessings of longevity of life as the Old Testament patriarchs had and the awesome, superhuman powers they attained.

Early Conceptualization of "Quorum"-Type Blessings

From the earliest times of his ministry, Joseph Smith received revelations concerning the highest blessings available to mortals. Even

before the Church was organized, Joseph Smith, in translating the Book of Mormon, learned of individuals who had developed spiritually to the point that they were given great promises. Perhaps the most notable example was Nephi, who, according to the Book of Mormon, lived twenty years before the birth of Christ. By direct revelation this ancient was told

> Blessed art thou, Nephi, for those things which thou hast done; for I have beheld how thou hast with unwearyingness declared the word, which I have given unto thee, unto this people. . . . And now, because thou hast done this with such unwearyingness, behold, I will bless thee forever . . . yea, even that all things shall be done unto thee according to thy word, for thou shall not ask that which is contrary to my will. . . . Behold, I give unto you power, that whatsoever ye shall seal on earth shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. . . . And thus, if ye shall say unto this temple it shall be rent in twain, it shall be done. And if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou cast down and become smooth, it shall be done. And behold, if ye shall say that God shall smite this people, it shall come to pass.[57]

Hel 10:4-10
D&C 132:45-49

As the Prophet worked on his inspired translation of the Bible, he received revelations providing details of the lives of ancient biblical personalities. For example, a few months after the completion of the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith recorded a vision Moses received in which Moses obtained powers similar to Nephi:

> Blessed art Thou, Moses, for I, the Almighty, have chosen Thee, and Thou shalt be made stronger than many waters; for they shall obey thy command as if thou wert God. And lo, I am with thee, even unto the end of thy days.[58]

And to Enoch the promise was made:

> Open thy mouth, and it shall be filled. . . . Behold my Spirit is upon you, wherefore all thy words will I justify; and the mountains shall flee before you, and the rivers shall turn from their course; and thou shalt abide in me, and I in you; therefore walk with me.[59]

The most complete passage dealing with the process of attaining these blessings—a passage that indicates that these blessings are available

to all who are faithful--is in the Inspired Translation of Genesis 14 where the Prophet added the following verses to the existing King James Version text.

> Now Melchizedek was a man of faith, who wrought righteousness; and when a child he feared God, and stopped the mouths of lions, and quenched the violence of fire. And thus, having been approved of God, he was ordained an high priest after the order of the covenant which God made with Enoch, It being after the order of the Son of God; which order came, not by man, nor the will of man; neither by father nor mother; neither by beginning of days nor end of years; but of God; And it was delivered unto men by the calling of his own voice, according to his own will, unto as many as believed on his name. For God having sworn unto Enoch and unto his seed with an oath by himself[:] that every one being ordained after this order and calling should have power, by faith, to break mountains, to divide the seas, to dry up waters, to turn them out of their course; To put at defiance the armies of nations, to divide the earth, to break every band, to stand in the presence of God; to do all things according to his will, according to his command, subdue principalities and powers; and this by the will of the Son of God which was from before the foundation of the world. And men having this faith, coming up unto this order of God, were translated and taken up into heaven.[60]

If the scriptures that speak of these extraordinary powers only seem to emphasize power over the physical elements, this Translation of Genesis 14 indicates that ultimately the purpose of such manifestations of power was to do the "will of the Son of God."

Nevertheless, these scriptures present an awesome view of the human potential. Through prayer, individuals could have ultimate, God-like power in the priesthood. While Joseph Smith conferred the Melchizedek Priesthood by priesthood ordination on men in the Church, according to the Prophet's Translation of Genesis 14, in order for individuals to attain the fulness of the power of the priesthood they would, in addition, have to receive an audible voice from heaven confirming their ordination: an oath and a covenant confirmed upon them by direct revelation would enable them to have such power by faith and

prayer (see Doctrine and Covenants 84:42). Moreover, the translation of Genesis 14 indicates that this level of "ordination" could not be guaranteed by the blessing of a "father nor mother;" for these blessings came only "by the will of the Son of God" by the "calling of God's own voice out of the heavens." The ultimate powers of the dispensation were reserved to God alone; He would bestow these highest blessings upon only those who had had significant spiritual experience and trials of faith.

Nauvoo Crystallization of "Quorum" Ordinances

It was not until the Nauvoo period of Church history, however, that Joseph Smith fully institutionalized the bestowal of such powers. During this period he taught that by revelation through God's prophet and through temple ordinances these blessings and powers could be conferred. While anyone might claim he had received such powers by direct revelation (and Joseph Smith's teachings permitted this possibility), the bestowal of such authority on worthy individuals following inspiration to God's prophet would be the only form the Church would be required to accept and for which it would be accountable. Except for the passage from the Book of Mormon, the other passages describing Joseph Smith's ideas were never published during his lifetime; they were probably of limited circulation. However, in the inauguration of temple ordinances in May 1842, he passed on this world view to trusted disciples. Because he accomplished the inauguration of these ordinances only during the last two years of his life, this period was his final systematic unfolding of his ultimate Weltanschauung--The temple became his comprehensive statement of both this world and the

world to come; as he saw it a statement grounded in the earliest, most fundamental axioms of his movement and message. The specifics of this statement is the subject of this study.

PART I

PRE-MARTYRDOM HISTORY OF THE QUORUM

If, after 1842, the Quorum was the means through which qualified individuals were endowed with the most exalting powers of the Restoration, and, if such powers were prerequisite to the position of presiding priesthood authority of the Church and Kingdom of God, then a detailed history of the Quorum is essential to an understanding of how the transmission of such knowledge and power could have occurred uninterrupted despite the death of Joseph Smith. The next seven chapters will be devoted to providing a historical and doctrinal overview of the Quorum and will lay the foundation for describing such a transmission--a transmission fundamental to the transition of leadership from Joseph Smith to the Twelve Apostles.

CHAPTER II

THE MAY 1842 ORGANIZATION OF THE QUORUM

Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the significance of the May 1842 organization of the Quorum. After describing the organization of the Quorum, I will trace the historical and doctrinal antecedents of two Quorum-related concepts. So important are these two concepts that they clarify the meaning the ordinances had to the 1842 participants, and establish the temple-related significance of concepts echoed when succession was settled in August and September 1844. In particular, the twenty-two-year doctrinal development on the concepts of prayer and angelic ministrations illustrates how long the unfolding was before these two concepts were absorbed in and expanded by the temple ordinances. Regarding the temple ordinances in general, Joseph Smith taught the Quorum that the ordinances first administered to them were a revelatory uniting of his important but only partial previous revelations on these concepts. Those who were recipients of these ordinances were aware that these ordinances resembled non-Mormon rituals. In fact, the resemblance to Freemasonry was one case of which Joseph Smith made particular mention. Joseph Smith taught that these ordinances would serve as a standard by which the subcelestial impurities of surviving remnants of earlier Gospel dispensations could be judged. To Quorum members, therefore, parallels (such as

Freemasonry) provided external confirmation of the breadth of the restoration impulse and was an evidence of Joseph Smith's divine calling as a prophet. The endowment was a new and an everlasting way of entering covenants with God, a new revelation renewing an ancient order of priesthood covenants and power.

The 4 and 5 May 1842 Organization of the Quorum

The organization of the Quorum in the upper room of Joseph Smith's brick store on 4 and 5 May 1842 was both a culmination and a beginning. On those two days the "ancient order" in its full pattern was introduced for the first time. The bestowal of the endowment ordinances were a coalescence and distillation of all of Joseph Smith's prior revelations on temple-related concepts.

There apparently was no extensive record of the proceedings of those two days.[61] However, we can be reasonably certain that the Prophet's journal for 4 May 1842 says that he was in council with other men giving instructions concerning the priesthood and that on the following day Joseph and Hyrum Smith received in turn from the others the same that had been communicated to them the previous day.[62] If this were all that the record shows for 4 and 5 May 1842, it still would be sufficient to show that Joseph Smith conferred on these individuals ordinances and priesthood power essential to salvation. This procedure for first conferring priesthood power is reminiscent of 1829 when Joseph Smith received the Aaronic and then the Melchizedek Priesthood. After he and Oliver Cowdery, his assistant in the Book of Mormon translation, had received these two different ordinations from heavenly messengers on separate occasions, each time Joseph Smith was instructed to administer

the ordinances to Oliver Cowdery, and then Oliver Cowdery was in turn instructed to administer the ordinances to Joseph Smith.[63] These experiences established in Mormon theology a rule for the only exception to the general rule that one cannot administer an ordinance one has not received. The rule of exception is succinctly stated in the Nauvoo Temple Records:

> [T]he order in which the ordinances of the Lords house are at all times first communicated to the children of men [is] that he who holds the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to minister to men on earth . . . should confer the ordinances upon some faithful man who should in turn minister to him according to the pattern of heavenly things.[64]

Although the entries in the Prophet Joseph's diary for 4 and 5 May 1842 might be brief and incomplete, Mormon doctrine establishes that the conferral of keys, ordinances and blessings of signal importance were communicated that day.

There are, fortunately, important accounts of what occurred. First, the room had to be prepared for the introduction of these ordinances. According to Lucius N. Scovil, Joseph Smith, "called upon five or six, viz: Shadrach Roundy, Noah Rogers, Dimick B. Huntington, Daniel Carns, and myself (I am not certain but that Hosea Stout was there also) to meet with him (the Prophet) in his business office (the upper part of his brick store). He told us that the object he had was for us to go to work and fit up that room preparatory to giving endowments to a few Elders that he might give unto them all the keys of power pertaining to the Aaronic and Melchisedec Priesthoods." Scovil continued, "We therefore went to work making the necessary preparations, and everything was arranged representing the interior of a temple as much as the circumstances would permit, he being with us dictating

everything . . . [the] room was fitted up by his order which we finished in the forenoon of the . . . 4th of May, 1842." [65] Those men busily cut canvas for dividing the room into subrooms, built at least one altar, and brought in potted plants, shrubs and small trees to furnish the "Garden" room--the section of the room that represented the Garden of Eden. Dimick B. Huntington added the interesting detail that some bars of lead were used to hold the trees in place. What they brought in as additional furnishings to organize the other subrooms (representing the Creation, the World, the Terrestrial and the Celestial orders of progression) we are not informed; we do know that they worked under the Prophet's detailed and total supervision, finishing by midday. They were then dismissed.[66]

Because ordinances of the most sacred nature were to be performed, the room had to be dedicated for the purpose.[67] These ordinances of the priesthood, when performed in enclosed places, were only to be performed in an upper room.[68] Not until Joseph's store was completed in early 1842 was there a place in Nauvoo with a large enough upper room for the various endowment rooms.[69] When everything was complete, the Prophet dedicated the upper story of his brick store before he attended to the ordinances.

The nine men whom the Prophet invited to receive these blessings then arrived at his store. These were the most trusted leaders of the Church. The group included the Assistant President and Patriarch to the Church, Hyrum Smith; William Law, a member of the First Presidency; three of the Twelve Apostles: Brigham Young, the president of the Quorum, and Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards; William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake and High Council; George Miller, president

of the Nauvoo High Priest's Quorum and a general bishop; Newel K. Whitney, general bishop; and James Adams, a patriarch and president of the branch of the Church at the state capital, Springfield.

At least four of the nine participants left accounts of this particular occasion: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards and George Miller. George Miller's 1855 brief description indicates that

> Joseph washed and anointed [us] as Kings and Priests to God, and over the House of Israel, . . . [because] he was commanded of God, [to do so] . . . and [thereby] conferred on us Patriarchal Priesthood.[70]

Brigham's detailed description of the nature of the ordinances also demonstrated the difficulty of presenting such ceremonies even in the largest structure then existing in Nauvoo.

> [W]hen we got our washings and anointings under the hands of the Prophet Joseph at Nauvoo we had only one room to work in with the exception of a little side room or office. [In this side office] we were washed and anointed, and had our garments placed upon us and [we] received our New Name. . . . [After this] we went into the large room . . . Joseph divided up the room the best that he could. [He] hung the veil . . . Then as we passed along from one department to another, [he] gav[e] us [the] signs, tokens, penalties with the Key words.[71]

Joseph, after completing the ordinances, apologized for the improvised quarters, saying to Brigham Young,

> . . . this is not arranged right, but, we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed, and I wish you to take this matter in hand . . . organize and systematize all these ceremonies. . . . [We performed the ordinances under Joseph's supervision numerous times] and each time I got something more so that when we went through the Temple at Nauvoo I understood and knew how to place them there. We had our ceremonies pretty correct.[72] * * 255

Of the four participants who left testimonies of the occasion, Willard Richards's April 1845 expansion of the Prophet's journal entry for 4 May 1842 represents the best statement on the significance of the ordinances performed that day.

4 Wednesday May 4- I spent the day in the upper part of the Store (IE.) in my private office (so called, because in that room I kept ~~my~~ sacred writings, translated ancient records, and received revelations) and in my general business office, or Lodge room (IE) where the Masonic fraternity met occasionally for want of a better place), in council with Gen James Adams, of Springfield, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney, & Geo. Miller, leave these blanks ~~Wm Marks, Wm Law &~~ & Prests Brigham Young Heber C. Kimball & Willard Richards, instructing them in the principles and order of the priesthood, attending to washings & anointings, & endowments, and the communications of keys, pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of the Melchisedec Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the Ancient of days & all those plans & principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fulness of those blessings which has been prepared for the church of the firstborn, and come up ~~into~~ and abide in the presence of ~~God~~ in the [last two words blotted out] Eloheim in the eternal worlds. In this council was instituted the Ancient order of things for the first time in these last days. And the communications I made to ~~these council brethr~~ [this] Council were of things spiritual, and to be received only by the spiritual minded: and there was nothing made known to these men but will be made known to all Saints, of the last days, so soon as they are prepared to receive, ~~them~~ and a proper place is prepared to communicate them, even to the weakest of the Saints: therefore let the Saints be diligent in building the temple and all houses which they have been or shall hereafter be commanded of god to build, and wait their time with patience, in all meekness and faith, & perserverance unto the end. knowing assuredly that all these things referred to in this council are always governed by the principles of Revelation.[73]

On 4 and 5 May 1842, for the first time in the history of the Church, the key principles of the Ancient or Patriarchal order of the priesthood were conferred. According to Richards's summary, four essential concepts regarding man's relationship to God were conveyed by these ordinances: (1) The participants received washings and anointings wherein they were were promised that if they continued true and faithful they would by another anointing be ordained kings and priests unto God (Revelation 1: 5-6, 5:10); for the anointing they received that day was only "preparatory to further blessings;"[74] (2) They received the "keys of the priesthood," viz., signs, tokens, penalties and key words; some

pertained to the Aaronic Priesthood, others pertained to the Melchizedek Priesthood; however, the keys given were all of the keys given in the order of the Ancient of Days (Adam) or Patriarchal Priesthood; (3) Though this priesthood order did not confer the fulness of the priesthood, it "pertained to the highest order" in that it presented all the "plans and principles" that would "enable" anyone "to secure" in this life or before the resurrection the fulness of the priesthood; and, (4) The principles taught that day were to enable the participants eventually to pass through the veil into the presence of the Gods. Richards then added implicit evidence of Miller's recollection that those selected to receive these blessings were to be selected by revelation.

Public Awareness of the May 1842 Organization of the Quorum

What preparations had been made for these men to receive these blessings? Had the Prophet prepared the Saints in general or these men in particular for what was unfolded on these two days?

Joseph Smith prepared these men and the Saints in explicit ways for these sacred conferrals. The Prophet had publicly mentioned he was soon planning to administer these ordinances to the leaders of the Church. He explained in public the nature of the ordinances and their value to the Latter-day Saints. For example, only six days before he first administered these ordinances, the Prophet spoke to the Church's Relief Society. To this newly created women's organization he explained why he felt he had to administer these temple ordinances before the Nauvoo Temple was completed. Bathsheba W. Smith and Nancy Tracy, members of the organization, later recalled that Joseph Smith opened the

meeting with prayer. Nancy remembered that during the prayer "He was full of the Spirit of God. His whole frame shook, and his face shone and looked almost transparent."[75] Bathsheba simply remembered that his "voice trembled very much" during the prayer. Both remembered, as the original minutes report, that he gave the following ominous comments during his ensuing discourse:

> He said as he had this opportunity, he was going to instruct the [Relief] Society and point out the way for them to conduct, that they might act according to the will of God--that he did not know as he should have many opportunities of teaching them--that they were going to be left to themselves --they would not long have him to instruct them--that the church would not have his instruction long, and the world would not be troubled with him a great while, and would not have his teachings.[76]

The report shows that the Prophet followed these premonitions of either death or exile with an explanation of his intended course of action: "He spoke of delivering the keys to [both] this society and to the Church--that according to his prayers [or perhaps, according to his prayer at the beginning of the meeting] God had appointed him elsewhere."[77] But what keys? Who were going to receive these keys? The next few lines in the original minutes provide an answer:

> He exhorted the sisters always to concentrate their faith and prayers for, and place confidence in those whom God has appointed to honor, whom God has plac'd at the head [of the Church] to lead--that we should arm them with our prayers--that the keys of the kingdom are about to be given to them [viz. the leaders of the Church], that they may be able to detect every thing false.[78]

The "keys of the kingdom" were to be given to both the Relief Society women and the leaders of the Church "that they may be able to detect every thing false"--but it would be in order. Joseph Smith's journal record of the proceedings of the Society meeting confirms that he expected that women would also receive these blessings. His summary of

his address to the 200 sisters present makes clear that they could eventually "come in possession of the privileges, blessings, and gifts of the Priesthood" when they also were given "the keys of the kingdom" whereby, for example, they could "cast out devils." They might "attain unto these blessings," his report concludes, provided they lived "a virtuous life and conversation and [were] diligen[t] in keeping all the commandments."[79] While some women would eventually receive these blessings a year later, only the leaders of the Church were about to receive these blessings in the spring of 1842.

Three days later, in his Sunday public discourse to the Nauvoo populace, Joseph Smith went further than ever before in defining these blessings--"the keys of the Kingdom." He preached in the grove, near the unfinished temple,

> on the keys of the Kingdom. . . . The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed--The rich can only get them in the Temple--the poor may get them on the Mountain top as did Moses. . . . There are signs in heaven, earth, and hell, the Elders must know them all to be endowed with power, to finish their work and prevent imposition [by the adversary]. The devil knows many signs but does not know the sign of the Son of Man, or Jesus. No one can truly say he knows God until he has handled something, and this can only be in the Holiest of Holies.[80]

In ways he felt were proper, without revealing the actual signs and tokens conferred by the ordinances, Joseph Smith outlined to the Saints in Nauvoo the ordinances of the temple. In published testimony Bathsheba W. Smith, wife of apostle George A. Smith, recalled that:

> Once when speaking in one of our general fast meetings, [Joseph Smith] said that we did not know how to pray to have our prayers answered. But when I and my husband had our endowments in [December, 1843], Joseph Smith presiding, he taught us the order of prayer.[81] [He also] showed us . . . how to detect them when true or false angels come to us.[82]

Joseph Smith publicly explained to the Saints that in the endowment they would be taught essential teachings on prayer and on angelic ministrations.

Joseph Smith's Public Allusions to and the Theological Antecedents of Two Quorum Concepts

While these two concepts of the ordinances that Joseph Smith made known in public--detection of evil spirits and prayer--were not the only concepts conveyed to the participants when they received the endowment blessings, nevertheless, these two concepts illustrate the long developing, uniting and institutionalization of Joseph's ideas and revelations that these ordinances represent. The endowment ordinances were not revealed to Joseph Smith all at once. Based on personal experiences and revelations required for Church government, Joseph Smith learned, as Isaiah said "line upon line, precept upon precept" various points regarding angelic visitations and prayer.

Detecting Evil Spirits

According to apostle George A. Smith, "There was no point upon which the Prophet Joseph dwelt more than the discerning of Spirits."[83] Consider the following.

According to an account by Oliver Cowdery published in 1834, the morning after the visitations from the angel Moroni (21-22 September 1823), Joseph Smith went to the side of the hill Cumorah to unearth the plates of the Book of Mormon he had seen in his vision. On the road to Cumorah he became fixed and determined to obtain the plates for wealth and prestige and not for the glory of God. Only after attempting un-

successfully three times to remove the plates from the stone box in which they were enclosed did he become aware that an angel--the guardian of the record, the angel Moroni--was present. The angel indicated that Joseph was permitted by God to be thus led by these evil impulses so that from that time forth he would always know the difference between a true spirit and an evil spirit.[84]

This, however, was only a beginning of his instructions in the gift of discerning spirits (see D&C 46:15-16, 23, 27). Subsequent revelations through Joseph Smith provided greater detail concerning keys to detecting the adversary. An 1831 revelation gave instructions that if a spiritual manifestation seemed unedifying and if, after prayer, the spirit would not manifest itself, the individuals involved would then receive power to rebuke the spirit.[85] Joseph Smith himself had experienced this type of manifestation. On the banks of the Susquehanna River, the angel Michael appeared and intervened to detect the devil when he appeared to Joseph Smith as an angel of light (D&C 128:20).[86] This intervention by Michael apparently provided additional information concerning detection of evil spirits. Because the adversary can present himself as an angel of glory (2 Corinthians 11:14; D&C 129:8; Moses 1:2, 9, 11-25) the Prophet, on 27 June 1839, revealed to the Twelve Apostles additional keys of detection.

> In order to detect the devel when he transforms himself nigh unto an angel of light. When an angel of God appears unto man face to face in personage & reaches out his hand unto the man & he takes hold of the angels hand & feels a substance the Same as one man would in shaking hands with another he may then know that it is an angel of God, & he should place all Confidence in him Such personages or angels are Saints with there resurrected Bodies, but if a personage appears unto man & offers him his hand & the man takes hold of it & he feels nothing or does not sens any substance he may know it is the devel, for when a Saint whose body is not resurrected appears unto man in the flesh he

will not offer him his hand for this is against the law given him & in keeping in mind these things we may detec the devil that he decieved us not.[87]

Far from saying that when the instructions of this discourse were followed, the adversary's only recourse was to attempt to return the handshake, in a December 1840 discourse Joseph said, "The Devil . . . will either shrink back . . . or offer his hand."[88] He will not remain still.

Finally, as noted before, on 28 April 1842, the Prophet revealed to the Relief Society, and on 1 May 1842 to the Nauvoo populace, that there was another dimension for determining whether manifestations and revelations were approved by God. There were "keys of the kingdom," he said to the Sunday audience of the Saints in Nauvoo, "certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed." On 4 May 1842, these keys were first revealed to the leaders of the Church.

Prayer

Joseph Smith's thinking and revelations on prayer were the beginning of his ministry. His "First Vision" confirmed the truth of the passage of scripture that so powerfully affected him when he was a fourteen-year-old boy. James's words that "if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God . . . in faith, nothing wavering . . . and it shall be given him" were fulfilled beyond his expectation.[89] According to the Prophet's testimony, The Father and The Son appeared to him, thus beginning his ministry.[90]

He learned later, however, that he might be in earnest prayer and yet for other deficiencies not receive expected revelation. According to David Whitmer, on one occasion when Joseph was getting ready to continue the translation of the Book of Mormon "something went wrong about the house and [Joseph] was put out about it. Something that Emma, his wife, had done [upset him]. . . . [When] Joseph came up . . . to continue the translation . . . he could not . . . translate a single syllable. He went downstairs, out into the orchard, and made supplication to the Lord; [he] was gone about an hour--[It was only when he] came back . . . and asked Emma's forgiveness" that he could continue the translation. If he had unkind feelings towards anyone, the Spirit of the Lord would be restrained.[91]

Conversely, he also learned that if he refused the Lord's counsel he could obtain "blessings" that were not in his best interest.[92] Permitting the initial 116 pages of manuscript translation of the Book of Mormon plates to pass out of his hands was a sad learning experience in this regard. He was strongly rebuked in a revelation:

> For although a man may have many revelations, yet if he boasts in his own strength, and sets at naught the counsels of God, and follows after the dictates of his own will and carnal desires, he must fall and incur the vengeance of a just God upon him. . . . Behold, thou art Joseph, and thou wast chosen to do the work of the Lord, but because of transgression, if thou art not aware thou wilt fall.[93]

As if reflective of this earlier experience, a later revelation stated, "If ye are purified and cleansed from all sin, ye shall ask whatsoever you will in the name of Jesus and it shall be done. But know this, it shall be given you what ye shall ask."[94] Thus, early in his ministry, Joseph Smith learned that the spiritual conditions for access to God in

prayer were strong faith and a conscience free from unkind feelings, carnal desires and sin.

Joseph Smith also learned of and received divine aids for obtaining revelation. In particular, he was given by the Angel Moroni the "Urim and Thummim" or "Interpreters" through which he could translate the plates of the Book of Mormon.[95] It was also revealed to him where he could find a personal "seer stone;" thus by use of the "Interpreters" and a "seer stone" he translated the Book of Mormon. Even with these divine aids, the process of revelation was one of arduous effort and prayer. It was not "merely a mechanical procedure," historian B. H. Roberts observed. "It required the utmost concentration of mental and spiritual force possessed by the Prophet."[96] For example, when in a revelation to Joseph Smith the "gift of working with the rod" was also granted Oliver Cowdery, Oliver miserably failed.[97] Joseph's next revelation explained: "Behold you have not understood, you have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought, save it was to ask me; but behold I say unto you, that you must study it out in your mind; [come to some tentative conclusion and] then ask me if it be right, and if is is right, I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you."[98] Thus, Joseph Smith's experiences, his questions on doctrinal matters, and the Lord's intended direction for the growth of the Church were catalysts in the groping and guessing that preceded his grand revelations. He did not know it all at first; and his inspiration grew gradually.

Other mental, spiritual, and physical preparations the Prophet taught, would aid in prayer. According to a reminiscence of Zebedee

Coltrin, Joseph Smith instructed the School of the Prophets organized in 1833 "to get up before sunrise, then wash themselves and put on clean clothing and be at the school by sunrise, as it would be a day of revelation and vision. . . . [At the meeting] Joseph then gave instruction to prepare their minds. He told them to kneel and pray with uplifted hands."[99] These instructions to these men to wash and sanctify themselves before an expected period of revelation were similar to the instructions the Lord gave to the Israelites at Mount Sinai (Exodus 19). Another example comes from 1835 when Joseph Smith taught the father of Lorenzo Young how he might obtain the spiritual power to heal his son. Father Young was told to assemble a group of men and "join in prayer, one by mouth and the others repeat after him in unison." The Prophet then charged him: "continu[e] the administration in this way until you receive a testimony that he will be restored."[100] Another example of the importance of a divine order in prayer comes from a statement of Joseph Smith twelve days before his martyrdom. While conversing in private with some members and nonmembers of the Church, Joseph reflected on earlier events in his life. "He . . . spoke concerning key words. The g[rand] key word was the first word Adam spoke and is a word of supplication," he told his small audience. "He found the word by the Urim & Thummim--It is that key word to which the heavens [are] opened."[101]

Thus, temple instructions regarding prayer became a summation of Joseph Smith's revelations on the subject. There is one report that this unification, too, required revelation. Apostle Charles C. Rich, during a stake conference talk referred to this revelation:

> It was a long time after the Prophet Joseph Smith had received the keys of the kingdom of God, and after Hyrum and others had received many blessings, that the Lord gave Joseph a revelation, to show him and others how they could ask for and receive certain blessings. [In relation to this] we read in the revelations of St. John, that [of] the white stone [as follows:] "and in the stone a new name, which no man knoweth save him that receiveth it." Joseph tells us [in D&C 130: 10-11] that this new name is a key-word, which can only be obtained through the endowments.[102]

The endowment teachings on prayer, the need for new names and key words of the priesthood were parts of later revelations to Joseph Smith.

Perhaps during his lectures to the Quorum the Prophet confirmed that he had received such keys by the time the temple revelation of Nauvoo, the 19 January 1841 revelation, was received. Orson Pratt, a member of the Quorum thought that Joseph had. Editing the Doctrine and Covenants in later printings, apostle Pratt indicated that the word "keys" used in verses 95 and 97 of that revelation, referred (respectively) to the "order of God for receiving revelations," and "the order, ordained of God." The verses footnoted are as follows:

> And from this time forth I appoint unto [Hyrum Smith] that he may be a prophet, and a seer, and a revelator unto my church, as well as my Servant Joseph, that he may act in concert also with my servant Joseph; and that he shall receive counsel from my servant Joseph, who shall show unto him the keys whereby he may ask and receive. . . .
>
> Let my servant William Law also receive the keys by which he may ask and receive blessings.[103]

Pratt's interpretation is supported by the fact that the other member of the First Presidency at this time, Sidney Rigdon, though promised various blessings in this revelation, was not promised the keys to "ask and receive."[104] John C. Bennett, who would soon be an assistant member of the First Presidency and was mentioned in this revelation, did not receive the promise of obtaining such keys.[105] On 4 and 5 May 1842,

when the endowment was first given, Rigdon and Bennett were conspicuously absent from the meeting.

Apparently, several people in Nauvoo, soon after the revelation was received were interested in the meaning of these verses (D&C 124:95, 97). In three separate lyceum meetings, Joseph Smith gave clues of what he later would give to the "Quorum." On 16 February 1841 he said that as "God . . . Jesus the Mediator . . . and the Holy Ghost . . . agree in one [though they 'were separate bodys,' we, also,] should approach God ['in this maner'] to get his blessings."[106] On 9 March 1841, again speaking on the nature of the Godhead, he approached the question of prayer: "The Great God has a name By which He will be Called which is Ahman--also in asking have Referance to a personage Like Adam for God made Adam Just in his own Image. Now this [is] a key for you to know how to ask & obtain."[107] Finally, on 21 March 1841, in a remarkable reading of Luke 1:8, the Prophet asserted that Zacharias, when given the rare opportunity to minister in the Holy of Holies, went beyond mere service for he invoked the authority and wore the robes of the Levitical priesthood and wrestled with the Lord to obtain the promise of a son.[108] These three statements given shortly after the temple revelation indicates that Joseph Smith had wide-ranging ideas behind the brief references to the "keys to ask and receive" mentioned in D&C 124:95, 97. Apparently, he believed he was for the time being to commit these keys fully only to Hyrum Smith and William Law.

Regarding these two temple-related concepts, Joseph Smith was not going to reveal the actual keys of detection of evil spirits nor the keys of prayer in public. Whenever these keys were revealed, those who

were taught and received them were to keep them hid from the "wise and prudent." Nevertheless, Joseph Smith in his public teachings gave the Saints in Nauvoo a foretaste of the temple ordinances. These public instructions were also preparation for the nine men privileged to participate in these blessings in May 1842.

Relationship of LDS and Non-LDS Ritual

Undoubtedly, the nine participants were elated with this fundamental new development in the theology of Mormon salvation. One contemporary source depicts the feelings of the brethren. Heber C. Kimball wrote to the only apostle still in England, Parley P. Pratt, six weeks after receiving these blessings and joyfully alluded to these ordinances.

> Brother Joseph feels as well as I [have] Ever seen[n] him. One reason is he has got a Small company that he feels safe in thare ha[n]ds. And that . . . he can open his bosom to and feel him Self safe[.] I wish you was here so as to feel and hear fore your Self. we have received some pressious things through the Prophet on the preasthood that would caus[e] your Soul to rejoice.[109]

Heber then made an important comment on the nature of the ordinances received which reflects the Prophet's desire that the temple teachings not be made public. The specific keys given in the endowment, Heber had been taught, were not to be written down. "I can not give them . . . on paper," Heber wrote to Parley, "so you must come and get them fore your Self."[110] Heber then seemingly diverted to another topic. However, before he was through discussing the subject, he shows it was not an irrelevant diversion, because he brings his comments back to the endowment.

> We have organized a Lodge here. of Masons. since we obtained a Charter. that was in March since that thare has near two

> hundred been made masons Br Joseph and Sidn[e]y was the first that was Recieved in to the Lodg. all of the twelve have become members Except [Parley's younger brother] Orson P. he hangs back. he will wake up soon, thare is a similarity of preast Hood in masonary. Bro Joseph Ses Masonary was taken from preasthood but has become degenrated. but menny things are perfect.[111]

Historians of the Mormon experience have long been interested in analyzing the Mormon-Freemasonic relationship. However, the following discussion of Joseph Smith's views on the relationship between the endowment and non-LDS rituals is important to discuss because of the direct influence a dissenter would soon have on Quorum activity--in particular this dissenter's alleged "expose" of the nature and designs of the Quorum. Additionally, this discussion will point to Joseph Smith's attention to pedagogical details as he attempted to prepare the Saints in general, and the members of the Quorum in particular, for receiving the temple ordinances.

Heber C. Kimball's letter demonstrates that Joseph and his brethren were aware of Mormon-Masonic parallels. In fact, the men who arranged the upper room in a manner uncharacteristic of a lodge of Freemasons were members of the Nauvoo Lodge.[112] In particular, Lucius Scovil was a Masonic Junior Warden and Dimick B. Huntington was a Tyler. Each had attended the meeting of Freemasons held in that same room 6 p.m. the previous evening.[113] Of those who received the endowment ordinances the next day, James Adams was Deputy Grand Master Mason of Illinois and had been the first Master of the Springfield Lodge when the lodge was under dispensation from Missouri.[114] George Miller, Worshipful Master of the Nauvoo Lodge, was a Mason in 1819;[115] Hyrum Smith, Senior Warden and Worshipful Master, pro. tem, had been a Mason

at least since 1821;[116] Heber C. Kimball, since 1823;[117] and Newel K. Whitney hailed from the Meridian No. 10 Lodge of Ohio.[118] The remaining four men who received the ordinances--William Law, William Marks, Brigham Young, and Willard Richards—were only recent initiates to Freemasonry.[119]

Joseph Smith apparently agreed to the expansion of the Masonic institution in Nauvoo, not only for social and political reasons, but also for its value as a teaching device for the acceptance and appreciation of the endowment. The endowment, he taught, was the "true origin of masonry."[120] Masonry was not to replace the quorum and social structure of the priesthood organizations, but, to the Prophet, Freemasonry served as a secular confirmation of the need for a "restoration of all things." Joseph a year later explained to Benjamin F. Johnson that "Free Masonry, as at present, was the apostate endowments, as sectarian religion was the apostate religion."[121] Joseph's publication of the Book of Abraham two months before the endowment ordinances were first given included allusions to both rituals--the endowment and Freemasonry. Both must have been enlightening to these Freemasons who were initiated into the "true order."[122] For example, Joseph Smith interpreted the man on the altar, pictured in Facsimile Number 1 of the Book of Abraham, as Abraham praying for assistance.[123] Joseph's "restoration" and interpretation of the scene was not a description of a man offering the sign of distress of a Master Mason. It was the invocation of an endowed man seeking angelic intervention during a time of crisis when no mortal brothers were available.[124] Furthermore, according to Joseph Smith, Facsimile Number 2 of the Book of Abraham

taught that God gave "the Grand Key-words of the Holy Priesthood . . . to Adam in the Garden of Eden, as also to Seth, Noah, Melchizedek . . . and all to whom the Priesthood was revealed . . . [including the Patriarch] Abraham."[125] In that same facsimile the Prophet saw "represent[ations of] God sitting upon his Throne, revealing through the heavens [to these ancients] the grand Key-words of the Priesthood."[126] To practicing Freemasons these allusions had to be fascinating. Joseph Smith infused distorted and fragmented ordinances with divine origins that had been forgotten. Thus, Heber C. Kimball's letter to Parley P. Pratt is a powerful witness of the persuasive ability of the Prophet. His testimony of the Prophet's ease in pointing out the relationship of the endowment to Freemasonry in what might otherwise have been considered a blatant adaptation of Freemasonry demonstrates the awe and respect Heber Kimball and the others had for what has been a troublesome point to informed twentieth-century Latter-day Saints. These Freemasons who received these blessings in May 1842 completely accepted Joseph Smith's self-characterization as expressed in an 1844 discourse: "Did I build [up]on anot[he]r. man's foundation, but my own?--I have got all the truth [of the world] and an indepen[den]t rev[elatio]n in the bargain."[127]

In this same discourse, Joseph Smith said something else concerning parallels. "[The] old Catholic Church is worth more than all" the disparaging comments that had been made by missionaries.[128] For example, the Roman Catholic rite of baptism consisted of four parts: the child being touched first with water and then with oil in its various sense organs, then the special presentation of a cloth or garment, and, finally, the conferral of a name by the godparents.

Extreme Unction, or Last Anointing, too, involved a similar ritual.[129] Fascinating to Joseph Smith must also have been the conferral of the Catholic priesthood by "Holy Orders" when men (and in associated ritual for women) after they took vows of obedience, poverty and chastity were clothed in robes they would wear through life and in which they would be buried.[130] These ceremonies of Catholicism could hardly have escaped the attention of the Prophet. Joseph Smith believed that in all Gospel dispensations, the essential message and ritual taught by Adam, Noah, Abraham and Jesus were the same; a new dispensation was requisite to reestablish in purity the old covenants. The covenants were new to this dispensation, but they had been everlastingly the same. To Joseph Smith and followers like Heber Kimball, the similarities between remnants of old dispensations and the ordinances of the new dispensation were important confirmations of this truth and could serve as helpful preparation for receiving the essential message such rituals offered.*

*Perhaps some readers of these first two chapters who have never received the LDS temple endowment may now desire to read chapter five. That chapter presents an overview of the Nauvoo Quorum meetings, and provides further insight into the nature and meaning of the temple ceremony. Readers who follow this suggestion can then return to chapter three and continue reading without loss of continuity.

CHAPTER III

QUANDARY IN THE QUORUM

The nature of the doctrines taught and the initial ordinances conferred exclusively to the Quorum were of extraordinary importance in the history of the Church. More than a year passed, however, after the organization of the Quorum before it expanded its membership to include new male members or the wives of the men first initiated. This chapter will explain why the Quorum experienced this period of stagnation.

In the month the Quorum was organized, John C. Bennett, a man of high standing in the Church and first mayor of Nauvoo, apostatized. He could no longer stay in Nauvoo because the secret adulteries he accomplished in the name of Joseph Smith were discovered and publicly denounced. Seeking revenge, Bennett, though not a member of the Quorum, sought to expose the ritual of the Quorum and succeeded in embroiling Quorum members in an issue not fully agreed upon by them. Three Quorum members were unaware of the doctrine of plural marriage Joseph Smith was teaching and soon showed themselves unwilling to accept this doctrine. (No doubt this was due largely to their confusing Bennett's licentiousness and Joseph Smith's practice of plural marriage.) In the wake of new cases of Bennett inspired illicit sexual misconduct, these three men--Hyrum Smith, William Law, and William Marks--led a crusade to purify Nauvoo of all such immoralities. In doing so they unwittingly argued against Joseph Smith's practice of plural marriage. When they

found they were unable to stamp out the persistent rumors of aberrant marriage practices--suspecting finally that Joseph Smith's actions were the basis of these rumors--Hyrum Smith in May 1843 enlisted William Law and William Marks in an effort to compel a public confrontation, disregarding what this might mean to other top Mormon leaders. As a result of trying to obtain damaging firsthand evidence from Brigham Young, Hyrum Smith unexpectedly converted to the doctrine. However, Hyrum Smith would be the lone convert of the three.

The Prophet's wife, Emma, also found it a difficult practice to accept. Nevertheless, shortly before Hyrum Smith's conversion, Emma reconciled herself to the concept. Her change of sentiment paved the way for admission of women to Quorum membership and its ordinances. The first order of business was to attend to the eternal marriage sealings of the Quorum members and their wives who had not been previously sealed. The first of these sealings was between Joseph and Emma.

Joseph Smith, aided now by his newly converted brother, accelerated his efforts to teach the doctrines of eternal and plural marriage. On one occasion, while Joseph was away from Nauvoo, Hyrum transcended his authority to perform sealings. This early experience illustrates the exclusive authority that Joseph Smith held: that certain of the presiding keys of the priesthood were not to be delegated, except to a successor and without which no successor of Joseph Smith could officiate legitimately in all the ordinances of the temple.

Bennett's Attempted Expose of the Quorum

John C. Bennett soon tried to exploit the natural relationship the endowment ordinances had to outside groups. When, in May 1842, his immoralities became apparent to the leaders of Nauvoo, he was forced to leave the city. He, in turn, sought revenge on his former Mormon associates. Bennett was in a position to bring embarrassment to the Church, for he had been a counselor in Joseph's First Presidency, major general of the Nauvoo Legion, mayor of the city, and secretary of the Nauvoo Lodge of Freemasons. If his credentials as an apostate were formidable, his desire to mount the most vicious counterattack seemed equally high. While the public appetite for expose would not know how to distinguish between fact and Bennett fancy, we now can see how little he knew of Joseph's private teachings on the endowment and, consequently, that he was not part of Mormonism's inner circle. This did not prevent him from having an important impact on the activity of the Quorum, however.

Bennett charged Joseph and other top Mormon leaders with murder, adultery, and fraud perpetrated through the agency of special rites. He resuscitated the worn-out Missouri charges that so-called "Danites" were agents of Mormon leaders who overtly sought the overthrow of the "Gentiles" by secret murders and intimidation.[131] The supreme council directing the Danites in their brutal activities was a so-called "Order Lodge"--Bennett's title for the Quorum. Although Bennett posed altruistic when he published the first expose of the temple endowment, he did not take the time to verify his information. Some historians, including the Prophet's most-celebrated biographer, have taken his misinformed disclosures practically at face value, however.[132]

Although Joseph Smith would not have chosen these words, Bennett was essentially correct when he said

> Order Lodge . . . is a secret lodge or society, established by . . . a special revelation from Heaven. . . . None but the very elite of the Mormons are admitted into this lodge, as the mysteries of the Holy Priesthood are there, more fully than elsewhere explained to the members. . . . The ceremonies of initiation are in perfect keeping with the general absurdity of . . . Holy Joe's mission for the 'restoration of the ancient order of things.'[133]

When it comes to details, however, Bennett was miserably misinformed. His expose included an illustration depicting the organization of the room over Joseph's store. It shows that he did not know that the fixtures and trappings of Masonry were not the subdividing features of the room. He was not informed that only a small portion of the room represented "celestial bliss," nor did he know that "olive, cedar and . . . evergreen [branches]" only decorated the garden room and not the walls of the entire room. Moreover, when Bennett in the text of his expose describes the initiation scene, he says that the candidate for "Holy Orders" is "stripped naked . . . blindfolded . . . [taken] into the lodge-room," paraded around the room before the members, and while still naked, forced to kneel at an altar to make covenants of obedience, consecration, and chastity. Then, after dressing and putting on robes, according to Bennett, the initiate is anointed and "a hole is cut in the bosom of his shirt."[134]

Bennett had the order of the ordinances considerably confused, particularly with his assertion that the initiate was crudely paraded around, anointed, and given his garment in the large room. The anointing and garment were given in the privacy of the side room. He was incorrectly informed when he was told that the marked "[s]hirt must

never, on any account, be worn again." In fact, initiates were told to wear the garment throughout their lives. Bennett also said that the Quorum members believed

> these shirts will preserve them from death, and secure to them an earthly immortality, but Bishop Vinson Knight, one of the members, has recently died, so that it is evident the hole in his shirt could not save him. Joe will probably, however, say that a spiritual immortality only was promised.[135]

In the Nauvoo Temple, those who received these ordinances were told they "should wear these garments continually, by night and by day, in prison or free and if the devils in hell cut us up, let them cut the garment to pieces also."[136] They did not have illusions of immortality. But Vinson Knight was Bennett's wonderful counterexample to his version of Joseph's teachings. Knight was the most prominent Saint who had died since the Quorum was organized, and since Bennett assumed that "Order Lodge . . . embraced a considerable number of members"—in fact, his illustration depicted 42 members attending a "lodge" meeting—Knight's membership was assumed.[137] But if Knight had been a member, contrary to Bennett's count there still would have been only eleven in the Quorum. True, George Miller and Willard Richards believed they received divine protection when wearing garments; however, they believed protection came not because of the cloth worn but because of the endowment promises and extemporaneous blessings given when they received their garments.[138]

Another blunder Bennett made was when he first published his expose in the Sangamo Journal in July 1842. According to Bennett, "Joe says, Sidney Rigdon and Orson Pratt and William Marks must never know the SECRETS, or they will apostatize."[139] Bennett in his History of the Saints, however, did not repeat the error of saying that Marks was

not a member of the "Lodge." Bennett was apparently getting his information about the Quorum through George Robinson, son-in-law to Sidney Rigdon.[140] Perhaps William Marks or William Law briefly mentioned to Sidney Rigdon, a member of the First Presidency, the nature of the Quorum. Possibly smarting because he was not a member of the Quorum even though he was a member of the Church's highest ecclesiastical quorum, Sidney Rigdon told Robinson what he had learned, who in turn passed it on to Bennett.[141] No matter how some accurate information regarding the Quorum leaked out, Bennett was obviously groping blindly in the dark for details.

After Bennett began his crusade against Mormonism, Joseph Smith and the leaders of the Church recognized they would need to counter his charges. The public assumed that Bennett was in the private circle because of his position in the First Presidency. Never before had there been such a force of missionaries sent out to alter public opinion regarding rabid reports of an apostate.[142] The potential for Bennett to do additional harm to the Church was greatly enhanced when ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri was shot in May 1842. Because Boggs was governor of Missouri when he issued an extermination order authorizing the state militia to kill any Mormon found in Missouri after October 1838, Joseph Smith was considered a primary suspect.[143] Bennett claimed Joseph for a long time had been planning to have someone assassinate the ex-Governor.[144] One of Bennett's righteous causes was a strenuous effort to see that Joseph Smith was extradited to Missouri. While Mormon missionaries during the summer and fall of 1842 scoured the state to expose the folly and real design of Bennett's allegations, Joseph

went into exile until January 1843 when, after a trial at the Illinois capital, Missouri extradition writs were thrown out of court and the Prophet was freed.[145]

June 1842 Quorum Meetings

Joseph Smith and those of the Quorum, before the propagandizing mission got underway, met together in "solemn prayer" to ask for divine aid in their effort to offset Bennett's influence. On Saturday 26 June 1842 the Quorum met in the upper room of the Prophet's home and prayed that

> God would make known His will concerning the Pine country, and that He would deliver His anointed, His people, from all the evil designs of Governor Boggs, and the powers of the state of Missouri, and of Governor Carlin and the authorities of Illinois, and of all Presidents, Governors, Judges, Legislators, and all in authority, and of John C. Bennett, and all mobs and evil designing persons, so that His people might continue in peace and build up the city of Nauvoo, and that His chosen might be blessed and live to man's appointed age, and that their households and the households of faith might continually be blest with the fostering care of heaven, and enjoy the good things of the earth abundantly.[146]

They adjourned to meet the following evening; however, when they arrived Monday evening for the prayer circle, there were men present who were not members of the Quorum, namely "Brothers Hunter, Ivins, Woolley, Pierce and others." They decided to postpone the prayer circle until Tuesday evening.[147] When the Quorum met that next evening, they "were agreed that a reinforcement go immediately to the Pine country" to enlarge the company of men who were already there cutting lumber for the Nauvoo Temple and the Nauvoo House. The Quorum certainly felt that the unity displayed in their decision to send extra men to Wisconsin Territory was in answer to their prayer two days before. After this

sion, the council united "in solemn prayer." Their prayer ustrated the kind of concerns characteristic of circle prayers. They yed

> for a blessing on themselves and families, and the Church in general, and for the building up of the Temple and Nauvoo House and city; for deliverance from their enemies, and the spread of the work of righteousness: and that Brother Richards (who was expected to go East tomorrow for his family) might have a prosperous journey, have power over the winds and elements, and all opposition and dangers, his life and health be preserved, and be speedily returned to this place with his family, that their lives and health might be preserved, and that they might come up in peace to this place, and that Brother Richards might be prospered according to the desire of his heart, in all things in relation to his household, and the Church, and that the Spirit of God might rest upon him continually, so that he may act according to the wisdom of heaven.[148]

he council dispersed" sine die. These June 1842 circle meetings were ignificant symbols of the efficacy of the keys of the priesthood. Two ars later, when the power of Bennett's anti-Mormon crusade was spent, embers of the Quorum confidently looked back on these meetings as the eason for his lack of influence. For example, Brigham Young, speaking o the elders after the general conference of the Church in April 1844 id that "when John C. Bennett went forth to try to destroy the Saints, little company of us went before God and asked him to take away his ower, and it fell like lightning from Heaven."[149] Such was the power hey felt they had with the heavens by the order of prayer.

Quorum Divides Over Plural Marriage

Bennett was correct that Rigdon, Pratt and Marks were or would e against the Prophet's private teachings on plural marriage. In the ftermath of Bennett's expulsion, the crusade in Nauvoo to rid the last vestiges of Bennett's profligacy also divided the nine-member Quorum. y July 1842, while the other members of the Quorum had accepted

eternal and plural marriage, Hyrum Smith, William Law and William Marks had resisted Joseph Smith's effort to broach the subject with them. Their crusade against the embarrassing activities of Bennett narrowed their perspective, and Joseph Smith soon learned that he should not try then to convert them. This helps explain why in the year after Joseph Smith first gave these endowment blessings to the Quorum he did not invite others to become members of the group, did not yet invite the wives of these men to receive these ordinances, and did not administer any of the more advanced ordinances. The reason Joseph Smith held back can only be understood by appreciating the indirect effect Bennett had on the Quorum. This story is the key to why the Quorum for a year remained on such a plateau.

The situation was complicated by the fact that when the Prophet began privately teaching the practices of eternal and plural marriage in late 1840 Bennett saw a chance to introduce his own counterfeit form of Joseph's "spiritual wifery."[150] He was apparently successful in getting some Saints to believe that Joseph Smith condoned sexual intercourse between unmarrried but "spiritually compatible" individuals so long as they kept their relationship an absolute secret.[151] Within two weeks of the organization of the Quorum, Bennett's crimes were occupying time in the Nauvoo High Council meetings, of which Marks was President. As late as January 1843 cases of illicit intercourse justified by arguments akin to Bennett's still demanded time in church courts.[152] In November 1842, the High Council charged one of its members, Henry G. Sherwood, to "ferret" out "evil practices and pursuits among some who profess to be saints."[153] Hyrum Smith, Assistant

President of the Church, appeared in High Council meetings to aid in the reformation of the Saints.[154] Thus Marks, Smith and Law were engaged in "ferreting out" anything that hinted of the kind of conduct of which Bennett was guilty.

The brethren conducted this crusade in the private meetings of the High Council and in public gatherings of the Saints, where they preached against polygamy and kindred evils. This was a struggle to the Prophet. Brigham Young later recalled a time when

> Joseph undertook to teach the brethren and sisters [the doctrine] . . . [and] William Law made this expression, 'If an angel from heaven was to reveal to me that a man should have more than one wife, if it were in my power I would kill him.'[155]

Hyrum and William Marks were also present and agreed with what William Law said. Though these expressions were hard, "Joseph had to submit to it," Brigham recalled. "The brethren were not prepared to receive the doctrine."[156] The aftermath of Bennett's conduct and these Quorum members' zeal to remedy the Church of such disgrace prevented the Prophet from introducing the ordinance of the temple that was implicit in the endowment teaching, namely marriage for time and eternity. The Prophet was probably aware that Law and Marks would not oppose this doctrine. However, Hyrum could not accept eternal marriage because he also had to accept plural marriage. Hyrum's first wife, Jerusha Barden, died in 1837.[157] Later, when the doctrine of eternal marriage was first revealed to him, the fact that he had remarried created a stumbling block.[158] As he subsequently explained, the doctrine of eternal marriage had imposed on him the demand to answer a plural marriage question: How can a man be married to two women in eternity?

The May 1843 Confrontation

In May 1843, when Hyrum, William Law and William Marks realized that their efforts had not ended the rumors of the private practice of to them aberrant marriage forms, they decided to bring the issue into the open. They were suspicious that their worst fears were true--Joseph was teaching plural marriage. So while Joseph was out of town, Hyrum spoke on 14 May to the Nauvoo populace taking as his text Jacob 2 in the Book of Mormon--quoting the verses that are a severe denunciation of polygamy.[159] Almost echoing William Law's sentiments, Hyrum said to the Saints, "If an angel from heaven should come and preach such doctrine, [you] would be sure to see his cloven foot and cloud of blackness over his head."[160] The following Sunday, Joseph, in an apparent mild rebuttal, referred to the doctrine of eternal marriage for the first time in public. Willard Richards recorded in the Prophet's diary the gist of Joseph's passing reference to this subject as follows:

> [The] design of the great God in sending us into this world and organizing us to prepare for the Eternal world.--I shall keep in my own bosom. we have no claim in our eternal comfort in relation to Eternal things unless our actions & contracts & all things tend to this end.[161]

The Howard and Martha Coray Notebook records Joseph's words as follows: "There are some things in my own bosom that must remain there . . . that which is done by us that is not done with a view to eternity is not binding in eternity."[162] Franklin D. Richards reported the Prophet's words as follows: "Our covenants here are of no force with one another except made in view view [sic] of eternity."[163]

Apparently, Hyrum Smith, William Law and William Marks were disturbed by the Prophet's remarks. They did not understand why some

concepts of the Gospel still needed to remain unsaid, concepts relating to the doctrine of eternal covenants. Two days later, Heber C. Kimball and William Clayton "conversed concerning [rumors they had apparently heard, rumors of] a plot . . . being laid to entrap the brethren of the secret priesthood by bro. H[yrum]. and others."[164] Other diary passages show that the "brethren of the secret priesthood" was Clayton's specific designation of those who were living plural marriage.[165]

Apparently these men were trying to obtain the information they needed to force a final confrontation. Hyrum took the lead in the attempt to "trap" one of the brethren--namely Brigham Young.

Brigham later referred to this effort on the part of Hyrum that possibly took place two but certainly no more than three days after Clayton and Kimball's conversation--on or the day before 26 May 1843.

> Right north of the Masonic Hall in Nauvoo the ground was not fenced. . . . There were some rails laid along to fence up some lots. Hyrum saw me and said, "brother Brigham, I want to talk to you." We went together and sat upon those rails that were piled up. He commenced by saying, "I have a question to ask you. In the first place I say unto to [sic] you, that I do know that you and the twelve know some things that I do not know. I can understand this by the motions, and talk, and doings of Joseph, and I know there is something or other, which I do not understand, that is revealed to the Twelve. Is this so?"[166]

Brigham was alert to Hyrum's intent and replied, with equal coyness, "I do not know any thing about what you know, but I know what I know." Hyrum's bluff had been called; he had no choice but to be more specific:

> I have mistrusted for a long time that Joseph has received a revelation that a man should have more than one wife, and he has hinted as much to me, but I would not bear it. . . . I am convinced that there is something that has not been told me.

Brigham replied, "Brother Hyrum, Joseph would tell you every thing the Lord reveals to him, if he could." This may have been a piercing

reminder to Hyrum of Joseph's comments the previous Sunday regarding how his prophet-brother had to keep things in his own bosom.

Brigham's account digresses at this point to make an important comment about the differences of personality of Joseph and Hyrum.

> I must confess I felt a little sarcastic towards Hyrum, although he was just as honest as an Angel, and full of integrity as the Gods; but he had not that ability which Joseph possessed to see and understand men as they were. . . . Now Hyrum was as good a man as ever lived, and he was no better a man than his brother Joseph. His integrity was of the highest order; but his ability was not equal to Joseph's. Hyrum was a positive man; Joseph was a comparative man, regarding every thing acording to the circumstances of the case, and every person according to their intrinsic worth. Hyrum did not know enough to do this.

Perhaps this was Brigham's explanation for Joseph's patience with such men as John C. Bennett. Joseph Smith had the gift to make use of the talents and ability of someone short on integrity rather than use his other leaders who were more sterling in character but had appreciably less administrative ability and political influence.[167] One of Joseph's plural wives had thought "Hyrum seemed more like a Prophet than Joseph did. . . . Hyrum . . . was more sedate, more serious . . . [Joseph] was always so jolly and happy. He would play with the people."[168] Continuing, Brigham said,

> I used to think and think now that an angel dwelling in the presence of the Father and the Son possessed no more integrety [sic] in their hearts than did Hyrum Smith. . . but he had not that ability which Joseph possessed to see and understand men as they were.

Fully assured of the Prophet's revelations on plural marriage and the course he was pursuing, Brigham Young felt it would not be wrong then to turn the tables on Hyrum and appeal to his own integrity in order for him to receive the truth.

> "[B]rother Hyrum, I will tell you about this thing which you do not know if you will sware with an uplifted hand, before God, that you will never say another word against Joseph and his

doings, and the doctrines he is preaching to the people." He replied, "I will do it with all my heart;" and he stood upon his feet, saying, "I want to know the truth, and to be saved." And he made a covenant there, never again to bring forward one argument or use any influence against Joseph's doings. Joseph had many wives sealed to him. I told Hyrum the whole story, and he bowed to it and wept like a child, and said, "God be praised." He went to Joseph and told him what he had learned, and renewed his covenant with Joseph, and they went heart and hand together while they lived, and they were together when they died, and they are together now defending Israel.[169]

William Clayton confirmed the fact of Hyrum Smith's conversion to plural marriage. On 26 May 1843 he recorded in his journal: "Hyrum received the doctrine of priesthood."

Emma's May 1843 Conversion

In some respects May of 1843 must have been an incredibly happy month for the Prophet. If he was delighted with the unexpected conversion of his brother Hyrum to eternal and plural marriage, it could only have been the fitting cap of events of similar surprise that occurred a few days before. For without doubt the most perplexing thing Joseph Smith faced during the first two years of the active practice of plural marriage in the Church was the fact that neither his wife Emma nor his brother Hyrum accepted the principle. Never had Emma in those twenty-four months given Joseph a wife in plural marriage. Never had Hyrum stepped forward to assist in teaching or performing the ordinances of eternal and plural marriage.

In the spring of 1842, Joseph Smith apparently hoped that Emma and Hyrum would accept the principles of eternal marriage, for the endowment ordinances Joseph Smith introduced to the Quorum included covenants that are the basis of eternal marriage.[170] Moreover, for at least a month before Hyrum received these ordinances in May, 1842,

Joseph Smith taught that women would receive these blessings also; and naturally, Emma, the "Elect Lady," recently installed as the President of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society, was to take the lead in administering the washing and anointing blessings to the women of the Church.[171] But in 1842 she was still unwilling to accept the command of the Lord to her husband that he practice plural marriage. Because of that Joseph recognized she could not, in good conscience, take upon herself the endowment covenants. Characteristically, Joseph did not coerce her. Because he was unwilling for one of his plural wives to displace Emma in this role of administering the initial ordinance of the endowment, Joseph waited until Emma accepted plural marriage.

A year later, sometime in May of 1843, before Hyrum accepted the doctrine, Emma finally acquiesced to the principle of plural marriage: "I will give you two wives if you will let me choose them," she said.[172]

But nothing in this story is simple. As might be guessed, she unwittingly chose Joseph's brides of two months, Emily and Eliza Partridge. Sensing no need to hurt her further, Emily and Eliza dutifully permitted Emma to teach them the principles they already knew. The sixty year-old Sangamon County Probate Judge, James Adams, one of the nine men to whom the endowment was given the year before, was selected to perform the ceremony. However, Adams did not arrive in Nauvoo from his Springfield home until 21 May 1843.[173] Two days later Willard Richards entered in Joseph Smith's diary the vague reference: "At home. in conversation with Judge Adams, and others." Only the Prophet, Emma, Emily, Eliza and James Adams were present for the sealing that took place at the Prophet's home.[174]

26 May 1843--End of Stagnation

The sealing of Emily and Eliza Partridge on 23 May 1843 was--twenty-three sealings to Joseph Smith before this--without Hyrum's knowledge or assistance.[175] Three days after Emma's show of faith in the principle, on the day of Hyrum's conversion, Joseph Smith convened the "Quorum." This was significant. As noted before, except for a few prayer circles held, the group had not met in a year.[176] At 5 p.m. they met "in council in [the] upper room [of Joseph's home] receiving [from the Prophet] instruction on the priesthood, the new and everlasting covenant &c. &c. Adjourned to Sunday P.M. 5."[177] On the cold and cloudy Sunday following (28 May), "the adjourned council met in the Upper Room [and] attended to ordinances."[178] The ordinances specifically "attended to" were identified in Joseph's diary in shorthand as follows:

Joseph--& J. Adams

The council dismissed until 9 o'clock the next day, when they met again "pursuant to adjournment" and the other males of the endowment "council" (except Newel K. Whitney and Heber C. Kimball) received ordinances specified in the same shorthand:[179]

9 A.M.--met pursuant to adjournt

9 A.M.--met pursuant to adjournment

Joseph. Hyrum. Brigham. Willard, & Sis

Joseph, Hyrum, Brigham, Willard, & Sis

Thompson-- ov or & Heber & Newel K.

Thompson-- ov or & Heber & Newel K.

present also Joseph. & James Adams.

present also Joseph, & James Adams

What "ordinances were attended to"? What actually occurred? The shorthand notes provide the key.

During Joseph Smith's lifetime, the shorthand most widely used was invented in 1786 by the English phonographist, Samuel Taylor.[180] His shorthand was the most influential of its time. In fact, unlike previous shorthands, its use extended to non-English languages. It was the first of the three great shorthands--Taylor, Pitman and Gregg--to find worldwide use.

Once it is known that these shorthand entries are Taylor shorthand, it is unmistakable that the two symbols (ov or) stand for wr mrd, clearly meaning "were married." Therefore the meeting on the twenty-sixth of May was clearly a meeting on the "new and everlasting covenant of marriage," to prepare the brethren who had received the endowment the year before, to be sealed to their wives for time and eternity. According to his own testimony, William Law never knew from Joseph Smith that plural marriage was a practice of the Church until D&C 132 was recorded. This was seven weeks after the 26 May meeting. Since

William Law was present at this meeting, discussion regarding the new and everlasting covenant of marriage therefore did not include the subject of plural marriage.[181] Before the meeting was adjourned each of the men was instructed by Joseph Smith to bring his first wife with him to the meeting on Sunday the 28th so they could be sealed for time and eternity. A very strong case—though a fairly involved one[182]—can thus be made that on 28 May 1843, Joseph and Emma Smith as well as James and Harriet Adams were sealed for time and all eternity—the first occasion of marriage sealings in a Quorum context. On the next day, 29 May 1843, four other sets of sealings took place. First, Hyrum Smith, Jerusha Barden and Mary Fielding Smith were sealed for time and eternity (Mary acted as proxy for the deceased Jerusha). Second, Brigham Young, Miriam Works, and Mary Ann Angell were sealed for time and eternity by Hyrum Smith (Mary Ann acted as proxy for Miriam, who was dead). Third, Willard and Jennetta Richards were sealed. Lastly, Mercy Rachel Fielding was sealed to her deceased husband, Robert B. Thompson.

Shortly after these sealings took place, John C. Bennett demonstrated again how little he knew of the Prophet's private teachings. Somehow hearing of the sealings, Bennett believed he had a new disclosure to make. To an editor of a newspaper upriver from Nauvoo, Bennett wrote that

> Joe says . . . it has been revealed to him that there will be no harmony in heaven unless the Saints select their companions and marry IN TIME, For Eternity!!! They must marry in time so as to begin to form that sincere attachment and unsophisticated affection which is so necessary to consummate in eternity in order to the peace of heaven. So Joe Smith has lately been married to his present wife Emma, for eternity as well as for time. . . . This "marrying for eternity" is not the "Spiritual Wife Doctrine" noticed in my Expose, but is an entirely new doctrine established by special Revelation. . . . The Mormons are now busily engaged in carrying out the doctrine.[183]

Bennett was unaware that the sealing ceremony beginning in 1841 included the clause "throughout eternity" in the covenant between couples. A revelation given 27 July 1842 gives the exact wording for the sealing between Joseph Smith and Sarah Ann Whitney and confirms such wording.[184] Bennett was also unaware that in late 1841 or early 1842, Heber C. and Vilate Kimball were sealed as husband and wife for time and eternity. So also were John and Leonora Taylor.[185] Shortly after the Joseph and Sarah Ann Whitney sealing, Newel K. and Elizabeth Ann Whitney were likewise sealed.[186] Here again we have significant new evidence of the paucity of John C. Bennett's exposures. Bennett in 1843 only became aware of the "carrying out of the doctrine" because Joseph was now for the first time able to teach the doctrine publicly without fear of disrupting his brother's faith. For example, in a discourse given before Hyrum's conversion, which Willard Richards called "the sweetest sermon . . . he [had] ever heard,"[187] Joseph Smith poignantly described how familial relationships can be expected to continue in the resurrection. Joseph during the sermon, however, carefully avoided mentioning the possibility that eternal relationships could exist between husband and wife.[188] From the five contemporary accounts of this discourse we find the prophet mentioned the titles "Father" and "Son," "Mother" and "Daughter," but not the titles "husband" and "wife." But with Hyrum's conversion, the Prophet on 16 July 1843 could then begin to speak explicitly of the doctrine "that a man must enter into an everlasting covenant with his wife in this world or he will have no claim on her in the next. . . . The fulness of these things ['could not' be 'reveal[ed]'] untill the Temple [was] completed."[189] Not all persons would infer from the doctrine of eternal marriage the necessity of

plural marriage as did Hyrum Smith. But as he later said, the death of his first wife, Jerusha, and his marriage to Mary Fielding made plural marriage an unavoidable corollary to the doctrine of eternal marriage. Bennett, unaware of Hyrum's subsequent aversion to both eternal and plural marriage, misrepresented Joseph's reluctance to teach the "safe" doctrine of eternal marriage. Bennett assumed that Joseph's reception and then public discussion of his revelations always followed in quick succession. In this case, however, Joseph could have publicly discussed eternal marriage at least as early as January of 1840, but he chose not to do so until Hyrum's conversion to plural marriage in May of 1843. Thus, the considerable embarrassment to Joseph Smith and Mormonism which some have inferred from Bennett's alleged duping of the Mormons is cast in a new light because Bennett himself so effectively refutes his own claim that he was a close confidant of Joseph Smith. Unwittingly, Bennett indisputably demonstrates that he was neither directly involved with the endowment, eternal marriage, nor plural marriage--the most significant private theological developments during Bennett's stay in Nauvoo.

Aftermath of Hyrum Smith's Conversion

Hyrum now aided the Prophet personally in promoting these doctrines. He had been an unbeliever. Now he was a zealous advocate. In teaching these doctrines Hyrum's approach seems always to have been the same: to the Nauvoo High Council, to Apostle Lyman Wight, to Ebenezer and Angeline Robinson and to Almera Johnson, his tact was the same as it was to Benjamin F. Johnson.[190] Johnson, a convert to the principle over a month before Hyrum was, depicts Hyrum's feelings clearly.

> Brother Hyrum . . . apparently in fear I was not fully converted, . . . said "Now Benjamin, you must not be afraid of this new doctrine, for it is all right. You know Brother Hyrum don't get carried away by worldly things, and he fought this principle until the Lord showed him it was true. I know that Joseph was commanded to take more wives, and he waited until an angel with drawn sword stood before him and declared that if he longer delayed fulfilling, that he would slay him." This was the manner of Brother Hyrum's teaching to me, which I then did not need, as I was fully converted.[191]

Hyrum's zealousness, however, soon led to some difficulties that would underscore the exclusive authority only his brother, the Prophet, held. Two years before his conversion, Hyrum was appointed by revelation as a prophet, seer, and revelator to the Church.[192] To empower him to "act in concert" with Joseph in all the affairs of the church, this revelation nominated him Assistant President of the Church in the place of the fallen Oliver Cowdery. Additionally, Hyrum was promised in this revelation that he would "hold the sealing blessings of [the] church, even the Holy Spirit of promise, whereby [one may be] sealed up unto the day of redemption, that [one] may not fall."[193] In 1843, when he became Joseph's chief representative in teaching and administering eternal and plural marriage, Hyrum assumed that these earlier appointments gave him the authority to perform these ordinances without needing to consult Joseph. Notwithstanding Hyrum's own recent conversion to these principles, when Joseph found that Hyrum presumed such authority, he wasted no time in setting Hyrum straight.

Hyrum's lesson in the proper use of the sealing power involved the conversion of apostle Parley P. Pratt to plural marriage. All the apostles save Elder Pratt, following their mission to England, returned to Nauvoo in the late spring of 1841. Only Pratt remained behind to supervise the European mission. Of the early returning members of the

Twelve, Joseph began to feel out the men who would be receptive to plural marriage. Only Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards and John Taylor seemed to pass an initial screening.[194] Joseph then put each through a severe test of faith before revealing more.[195] Parley P. Pratt was to be similarly tested when he returned.

In late 1842 Brother Pratt, his family, and a large company of British Saints set sail for America. Owing to the early winter, the company did not arrive in Nauvoo until 12 April 1843.[196] The Prophet did not have an opportunity to test Parley Pratt, until four weeks later. On 9 May, Joseph invited Pratt, his wife, Mary Ann, and Mary Ann's sister, Olive Grey Frost, to spend the day with him on a pleasure trip aboard the Maid of Iowa. During the excursion up the Mississippi and Skunk rivers toward Burlington, Iowa, Elder Pratt and the Prophet Joseph spoke together. Standing a little way off were Mary Ann and Olive, who that day had dressed quite similarly.[197] "Brother Joseph said to Brother Parley, 'It is the will of the Lord that those two sisters should never be parted' (meaning that they should both belong to one man)."[198] Apparently that is all that the Prophet said to Pratt regarding Pratt's wife and sister-in-law. Possibly that is all that needed to be said. One of the Pratt children later remembered Parley and Mary Ann returning home that evening and discussing Joseph's remark.[199] Five days later, on 14 May 1843, Hyrum Smith preached his sermon censuring plural marriage. No doubt Apostle Pratt was perplexed by the inconsistency of signals from Joseph and Hyrum. It was later said of Parley's time of perplexity that Parley "walked the streets saying what strange things had happened in Nauvoo in his absence."[200] Mary Ann, too, was disturbed. And yet, within four weeks Parley became

convinced that the principle of plural marriage hinted at by the Prophet, was of God and was true.

On the 13th of June the Prophet left with Emma for Dixon, Illinois, to visit relatives.[201] Prior to leaving, he had begun instructing Elder Pratt in the principle and had appointed Martha Brotherton to be Pratt's plural wife. Before their interview was completed, however, they were interrupted and before Parley was fully instructed, Joseph was off to Dixon.[202] He was only to return later and encounter a difficult situation.

The difficulties arose promptly. Mary Ann was still unsettled. By 23 June, however, (as she related to Vilate Kimball on the 28th) she had recognized that "the devil had been in [me] until within a few days past, [but] the Lord had shown [me that] it is all right."[203] On 23 June 1843 Parley and Mary Ann went to the home of the Prophet's brother Hyrum because he was Assistant President of the Church and presided over the Church in the Prophet's absence. Convinced that they were "truly converted" (as Vilate put it),[204] Hyrum proceeded to seal Parley and Mary Ann "for time and all eternity."[205] On the 25th word arrived that the Prophet had been arrested near Dixon and was being taken to Missouri.[206] Fearing for the Prophet's life, the Pratts appear to have turned to Vilate Kimball for advice regarding the as yet unperformed sealing between Parley and Martha. Vilate related to her husband in a letter begun the next day, the 26th, that "[Mary Ann] wants Parley to go ahead, says she will do all in her power to help him; they are so engaged[,] I fear they will run too fast. They asked me many questions on principle. I told them I did not know much and [would] rather they would go to those that had authority to teach."[207]

Martha Brotherton likewise sought counsel from Vilate that day. "I told her," Vilate wrote Heber, "I did not wish to advise in such matters." During her discussion with the Pratts, Vilate detected that Parley "seemed unwilling to wait." Vilate then warned him that "these were sacred things and he better not make a move until he got more instruction."[208] Just the month before, Joseph Smith, in teaching this doctrine to Erastus Snow, had said "that the law of the Lord concerning these things was exceedingly strict," and, as if reminiscing on the first twenty-four months of the practice of plural marriage in the Church, the Prophet went on to say, "many of the Elders were doing things because they saw him do them, but many by this means would fall--[I] have seen the fulfillment of this in too many instances."[209] About the time the Prophet spoke to Erastus Snow he also told William Clayton "that J.B. Noble when he was first taught this doctrine set his heart on one & pressed [me] to seal the contract but [I] never could get opportunity. It seemed that the Lord was unwilling. Finally another came along & he then engaged that one and is a happy man." Clayton learned from this episode "never to press the prophet but wait with patience & God will bring all things right."[210] Ironically, while Joseph was on his trip away from Nauvoo, while the Pratts were so anxious, he spoke quite frankly with William Clayton of three individuals who in 1841, two years before, were in danger of violating their covenants in plural marriage because they became over anxious when the Prophet did not seal wives to them.[211]

Both Hyrum and Parley learned this lesson regarding the strictness of the law regarding the administration of these ordinances.

As Brigham Young later alluded to this occasion, he said no one could "act on the sealing principle only as he was dictated by Joseph ~~in every~~ ~~ease~~ [sic]. This was proven, for Hyrum did ~~in one ease~~ [sic] undertake to seal without counsel.[212] Soon after Joseph's return to Nauvoo 30 June, Hyrum told Joseph what he had done in the Prophet's absence. Joseph's arrival was only two days after the Pratts had visited Vilate Kimball. Because Hyrum had not already accepted plural marriage by the time Joseph announced the Lord's will concerning the Frost sisters, he did not know at the time he sealed Mary Ann and Parley that the two women were both to be eternal companions of the same man. Hyrum's intentions in the matter were honorable but that did not lessen the forcefulness of Joseph's rebuke. He told Hyrum that if he ever did it again "he would go to hell and all those he sealed with him."[213] Twelve days later, when the revelation on Celestial Marriage was first written, Hyrum was again reminded of these strict rules by the words: "I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and the keys of this priesthood are conferred" (D&C 132:7).

Five days after the revelation was recorded, Joseph, Hyrum and William Clayton at the Prophet's home had a lengthy conversation on the doctrine of plural marriage.[214] Perhaps it was on this occasion that Joseph Smith annulled Hyrum's actions of the 23rd of June. In any case, after taking time to instruct Parley, Mary Ann Pratt, and Martha Brotherton further on the principle of plural marriage, Joseph Smith proceeded to set aright the situation Hyrum had created. Accordingly, on the 24th of July 1843, this time at Brigham Young's home, and in the presence of Brigham Young's wife, "[Mary Ann Pratt stood] first as proxy

her husband's first wife, Thankful--then she was sealed for herself and after that gave to her husband Sister Elizabeth Brotherton for a third wife--all sealed at the same time."[215] (Some time after this sealing the Prophet implied that Parley and Mary Ann were sealed for "time" only: if she had been sealed to Parley for eternity, it would have repeated one error Hyrum had made. It is unclear, however, to whom Mary Ann would be sealed in eternity.)[216] (see Bachman 735)

It is well known that it was at Hyrum's insistence that the revelation on eternal and plural marriage was first reduced to writing on 12 July 1843. In his enthusiasm he believed he could convince Joseph's wife, Emma, of its truth and rationality. After it was composed, Hyrum found that Emma was not as cordial to the concept as she was when she was sealed in late May. Clayton wrote that day of the episode that, "Prests. Joseph and Hyrum presented [the revelation] and read it to E[mma]. who said she did not believe a word of it and appeared very rebellious."[217] It appears that the revelation on Celestial Marriage was a better lesson for Hyrum than it was for Emma.

Summary of May 1842--May 1843 Quorum Development

The halting advance of the Quorum during its first year awaited the growth in faith of both Hyrum and Emma. As convinced as Hyrum was in 1842 that Bennett's system was false and decadent, Hyrum was in 1843 now convinced that Joseph Smith's practices of eternal and plural marriage were divinely instituted. With this insight into a time of personal dilemma of the Prophet, a point emerges that must be emphasized: Joseph Smith's actions towards his brother confirms the depth of his religious convictions regarding these principles. The eyes

of his people, his closest leaders and associates, and even his brother Hyrum were scrutinizing his every action, and yet he never once faltered. Even the most gracious of humanistic explanations of the origins of plural marriage--the belief and characterization that Joseph Smith's practice of plural marriage was such a complexly conceived system, so subtly and subconsciously constructed from latent biblical precedent that it totally quieted his own conscience regarding it--seems too superficial a theory to approach describing the fact and reality of Joseph and Hyrum's experience. He must truly have believed he heard the voice of God to go through what he did from his brother, his counselors in the First Presidency, and from his wife. To carry on such a principle sub rosa for two years without any in the First Presidency the least bit agreeable to the concept is incredible, and yet true. No wonder Joseph Smith was so overtly turning to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles to support him in the more advanced and to him most important aspects of the Restoration movement.

Perhaps in 1843 Hyrum felt some remorse in pushing the Church to say in 1842 that there was nothing even similar to Bennett's system condoned by Church authorities.[218] Perhaps he cringed when he reflected about all the speeches he gave that required his brother Joseph to remain silent. Now he knew his brother's silence was born of exceptional patience and love; a Prophet did not want to lose a Patriarch to apostasy. Thus the 1842 denials of plural marriage published in official Church publications were not merely an expedient. They were the product of zealous but uninformed individuals seeking to absolve the Church of embarrassments for which Joseph Smith was not responsible.

it was far better for one man to remain in unbelief than for a whole church to perish.

But now Hyrum was to be betrayed by his brethren. And yet in many senses it was not a betrayal. These men were not, as they have so often been portrayed, one-dimensional sinister individuals. Hyrum Smith, William Law and William Marks were sincere in their efforts to counter Bennett; they believed that his form of marriage would be disastrous to the Church.[219] Moreover, at the time of their "rebellion" they had no inkling of the extent, the meaning of or the strict rules governing the true practice of plural marriage. Indeed, Law and Marks might have been as receptive as Hyrum eventually was had they learned of these things in the right setting and had they not been poisoned by Bennett's immoralities. Hyrum certainly demonstrated his willingness to listen when he could hear the whole story. Even after Hyrum switched loyalties, Law and Marks did not come out in public rebellion. They were tacitly allegiant to Joseph. In fact, Marks accepted and received with his wife, Rosannah, the ordinances of eternal marriage. Moreover, Law for five months seriously considered entering the practice of plural marriage and wished to be sealed to his wife Jane in eternal marriage. Finally, in late 1843, Marks and Law renounced their support of the Prophet and pushed for the abandonment of plural marriage.[220] So if on 26 May 1843 Joseph's trials were now over from his brother, they only that day seemed to be beginning with Law and Marks. As William Clayton had been reminded by Newel K. Whitney in 1844 shortly after the Martyrdom, it was William Law, William Marks and Emma Smith who were opposed to Joseph and the Quorum over such subjects. But during the

Prophet's lifetime, William Law was the only one to come out in open rebellion.

According to two separate sources, the beginning of this significant rupture in the Quorum began when Joseph Smith told William Law that he and Jane could not be sealed.[221] Joseph apparently told Law this during or shortly after the 26 May 1843 Quorum meeting; for Law was not present at the 28 or 29 May meetings though he and Jane were in the city. Apparently Joseph never told William (and certainly not Jane) why God "forbid" him to administer these blessings to the couple.[222] Perhaps Joseph originally did not seal the couple because he was testing them on plural marriage--a test Law ultimately failed. However, after Law was excommunicated in April 1844, Joseph explained that he refused to seal the couple because God revealed to him that "Law was adulterous."[223] Although left without explanation, William continued to attend Quorum meetings; and Jane (beginning in October 1843) attended all the meetings of the Quorum until William made his final decision on plural marriage.*

While it was his public pressure on Joseph Smith in 1844 to abandon plural marriage that set in motion the events that precipitated the death of Joseph Smith, William Law did not immediately come to his decision to oppose plural marriage. He continued to believe in the efficacy and divinity of the temple ordinances until late December 1843. But as time passed his faith began to wane and a disturbing realization came to him--these ordinances were being administered to those who were at least willing to believe in the divinity of plural marriage. In the

*The details of Law's time of decision will be taken up in connection with the important events of the December 1843--January 1844 activities of the Quorum (Chapter VI).

ckground of Joseph's introduction of the temple ordinances was the nciple of plural marriage. True, the practice of plural marriage was ver a prerequisite to receiving these, the highest ordinances of lvation; however, Joseph Smith believed that God told him to employ his principle as the means of testing the faith of those selected to eceive these temple blessings. Acceptance of plural marriage was a emonstration that they would obey the actual laws that God taught were bsolutely prerequisite to such blessings--the laws of obedience, acrifice, and consecration.[224] No higher sacrifice could be asked of hose in that day.

CHAPTER IV

"EVEN THE FULNESS OF THE PRIESTHOOD"

Now that all but two of the members of the Quorum had been sealed in eternal marriage to their wives, the only blessings these Quorum members had not received were the ultimate blessings of the Gospel--the ordinances that conferred the fulness of the priesthood. Joseph Smith would wait, however, until his wife would have a resurgence of faith (and would hope that William Law and William Marks would also increase in faith) before he and Emma would be the first to receive these ordinances. Confident that such would be the case, the Prophet, in a series of discourses in the summer of 1843, proceeded to give the most detailed explanations of the meaning of the fulness of the priesthood ordinances he had ever attempted in public. Judiciously mixing personal appeal with doctrinal teachings, he made an effort to teach both the Quorum and the Saints in general these concepts. At last on 28 September 1843, the time came when Joseph and Emma Smith were the first to receive of these blessings. Not only this, but the first five male initiates since the May 1842 organization of the Quorum were added to the group. This date, therefore, marked the beginning of a period of unprecedented expansion of Quorum membership. Now in terms of priesthood keys and acknowledged authority, the Restoration of the Church of Christ was complete. Whereas in January of 1841, a revelation said that there was then "not a place found on earth" where it could be restored,

in September 1843, in an upper room of Joseph Smith's new mansion, the ultimate powers and highest ordinances of the Gospel--"even the fulness of the priesthood" (D&C 124:28)--were first administered.

11 June 1843: Only Those Who Receive All Temple Ordinances Have the Fulness of the Priesthood

Joseph tried to teach both the Saints at large and members of the Quorum in particular that they could not participate in the capstone ordinance of the Gospel unless they were willing to sacrifice all things for the Kingdom. On 11 June 1843, four days before leaving Nauvoo on the Dixon trip, Joseph delivered a discourse on the "gathering of Israel."

> He . . . asked[:] what was the object of Gathering the Jews together or the people of God in any age of the world, the main object was to build unto the Lord an house whereby he could reveal unto his people the ordinances of his house and glories of his kingdom & teach the peopl[e] the ways of salvation for their [sic] are certain ordinances & principles that when they are taught and practized, must be done in a place or house built for that purpose.[225]

During the Kirtland period the temple ordinances of washings, anointings, and washing of feet were not presented as ordinances essential to salvation;[226] however, the expanded blessings first revealed 4 May 1842 were. In fact, Joseph said in this same discourse:

> [T]his was purposed in the mind of God before the world was and it was for this purpose that God designed to gather together the Jews oft but they would not it is for the same purpose that God gathers togethe[r] the people in the last days to build unto the Lord an house to prepare them for the ordinances and endowments washings and anointings &c.[227]

Then he made this extremely significant statement:

> If a man gets the fulness of God ["fulness of the priesthood" in the published vision] he has to get [it] in the same way that Jesus Christ obtain[ed] it and that was by keeping all the ordinances of the house of the Lord.[228]

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Never before in public pronouncements had the temple ordinances taken on such significance in the Mormon doctrine of salvation. But Joseph seemed to imply that this doctrine was not readily accepted even by some in the Quorum.

> Men will say I will never forsake you but will stand by you at all times but the moment you teach them some of the mysteries of God that are retained in the heavens and are to be revealed to the children of men [in the temple] when they are prepared, They will be the first to stone you and put you to death. It was the same principle that crusified the Lord Jesus Christ . . . Why Jesus said how oft would I have gatherd you together [was] that they might attend to the ordinance of the baptism for the dead as well as the other ordinances [of] the Priesthood.[229]

Some of those mysteries to be taught in the temple included the doctrine and ordinances whereby men are promised the blessings of the Eternal Godhead.

Continuing his discourse he said, "Gods have ascendency over the angels[;] angels remain angels.--some are resurrected to become god[s]. by such revelations as God gives in the most holy place.--in his temple."[230] But again he warned, "Many seal up the door of heaven by saying so far God may reveal and I will believe."[231] He then concluded by saying, "The reason why the Jews were scattered and their House left unto them Desolate was because they refused to be gathered that the fulness of the Priesthood might be revealed among them."[232]

16 July 1843: Full Salvation Requires Eternal Marriage

A month later, shortly after the revelation on eternal and plural marriage was first recorded, Joseph continued his public preparation of the Saints for the temple ordinances. Four days after the revelation was written, Joseph taught in his Sunday sermon how essential the temple ordinance of eternal marriage was to exaltation.

No man can obtain an eternal Blessing unless the contract or covenant be made in view of Eternity. All contracts in view of this Life only terminate with this Life. Case of the woman & 7 husbands Luke 20-29 &c Those who keep no eternal Law in this life or make no eternal contract are single & alone in the eternal world (Luke 20-35) and are only made Angels to minister to those who shall be heirs of Salvation never becoming Sons of God having never kept the Law of God ie eternal Law The earthly is the image of the Heavenly shows that [it] is by the multiplication of Lives that the eternal worlds are created and occupied that which is born of the flesh is flesh that which born of the Spirit is Spirit.[233]

oseph taught that if husbands and wives are to have spirit children born to them after the resurrection they must obey the laws and rdinances associated with eternal marriage. In the succinct words of illiam Clayton's report: "[Joseph] showed that a man must enter into an verlasting covenant with his wife in this world or he will have no laim on her in the next."[234] He concluded by indicating that the ulness of these things could not be discussed until revealed in the emple of the Lord.[235]

When Joseph spoke of "all the ordinances of the house of the ord," the "fulness of the Priesthood" and "revelations as God gives in he most holy place in his temple" regarding becoming gods in eternity, e had in mind the highest ordinance of the temple--the only ordinance e had not as yet introduced. It was the capstone of ordinances essential to full salvation. To the members of the Quorum--still only the original nine members--this seems to have been clear. On 6 August 1843, Brigham Young in public discourse said, "If any in the church [have] the fullness of the Melchizedek Priesthood [I do] not know it. For any person to have the fullness of that priesthood, he must be a ing and priest."[236] Brigham had in 1842 with the eight others of the Quorum received an anointing promising him he would, if faithful,

eventually receive another anointing actually ordaining him a king and priest.[237] Based on this understanding which he received from Joseph Smith, Brigham Young later taught in the Nauvoo Temple of this order of priesthood blessings that

> those who . . . come in here [the Nauvoo Temple] and have received their washing & anointing will [later, if faithful], be ordained Kings & Priests, and will then have received the fullness of the Priesthood, all that can be given on earth. For Brother Joseph said he had given us all that could be given to man on the earth.[238]

13 August 1843: The Fulness of the Priesthood and "Calling and Election Sure"

The Prophet taught one week after Brigham spoke that "where it says and they shall seal the servants of God in their foreheads &c [in the seventh chapter of the Book of Revelation] it means to seal the blessing on their heads meaning the everlasting covenant thereby making their calling and election sure."[239] This doctrine of "making one's calling and election sure" was a very important doctrine to Joseph Smith. When he first began to teach it (using this term), he specifically defined "calling and election sure" as a revelation from Jesus Christ directly to an individual absolutely assuring eternal life in words such as "Son" or "Daughter"--"Thou shalt be exalted!"[240] He taught that those who heard such an audible voice could then approach the Lord and through prayer receive the mysteries of godliness by the manifestations of the "Second Comforter." A person so blessed with the "Second Comforter"

> will have the personage of Jesus Christ to attend him or appear unto him from time to time, & even [Christ] will manifest the Father unto him & they will take up their abode with him, & the visions of the heavens will be opened unto him & the Lord will teach him face to face & he may have a perfect knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom of God, & this is the state & place the

> Ancient Saints arrived at when they had such glorious vision[s] Isaiah, Ezekiel, John upon the Isle of Patmos, St. Paul in the third heavens, & all the Saints who held communion with the general Assembly & Church of the First Born &c.[241]

According to Willard Richards's explanation of the purpose of the endowment, its blessings were "all those plans and principles by which one is enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings . . . prepared for The Church of the Firstborn."[242] Thus Joseph Smith considered the temple ordinances inseparably linked to the doctrine of "calling and election made sure."

These blessings were not associated with church office. Joseph's own administrative position did not guarantee that he was an heir to these blessings. When Joseph Smith organized the Church in April 1830, although he was designated by revelation "a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ, an elder of the church through the will of God," yet he had not as yet attained unto these ultimate of spiritual and priesthood blessings. In his many revelations he was given many promises and responsibilities. He had been blessed by revelation to hold the "keys of the mysteries" (D&C 28:7). He was the only one in the Church "appointed to receive commandments and revelations" (D&C 28:2) for the whole Church. Yet when Peter, James and John appeared to him and gave him the "keys of the kingdom . . . a dispensation of the gospel for the last times; and for the fulness of times," the highest blessing as he already conceived of them had not been given to him. It is evident that when he was given such promises in 1830 he had not as yet received the like blessings conferred upon Nephi, Moses, Enoch and Melchizedek that he learned of when he translated Mormonism's new scriptures.[243] In February 1831 the Church was admonished in

revelation that "this ye shall know assuredly--that there is none other appointed [unto you besides Joseph Smith] to receive commandments and revelations until he be taken, if he abide in me. . . . I say unto you, that none else shall be appointed unto this gift except it be through him; for if it be taken from him he shall not have power except to appoint another in his stead" (D&C 43:3-4). However, by 25 October 1831 he was able to testify that "many of us have [gone] at the command of the Lord in defience [sic] of everything evil, and obtained blessings unspeakable in consequence of which, our names are sealed in the Lamb's Book of life, for the Lord has spoken it." Joseph concluded the meeting by saying that "until we have perfect love we are liable to fall and when we have a testimony that our names are sealed in the Lamb's Book of Life we have perfect love & then it is impossible for false Christ's to deceive us."[244]

That same day he taught that those of the "High Priesthood" who had received a testimony that they were sealed up unto eternal life could, if and only when they were prompted by the Spirit, be given power to seal other worthy individuals up unto eternal life. At this time in the history of the Church such persons did not by virtue of their sealed condition have independent authority to officiate in such power, but only as they were moved upon and vouchsafed such power temporarily by the Spirit. That such powers could be abused is obvious: apostle Parley P. Pratt later said that there were some men at times who "profess[ed] powers which they [did] not hold, sealing people to eternal life, which they [did] not themselves possess."[245] Safeguards against such abuses were not introduced, however, until the Nauvoo period of the Church's history. But, in his anticipation of introducing the highest

emple ordinances, Joseph Smith established the pattern of protection rom such abuses. One written evidence of this is in Joseph's poetic endering of a revelation he had received in Ohio eleven years before. A verse in that revelation refers to the sealing blessings (D&C 76:53). Joseph Smith now rendered it to say that these blessings could come only by ordinances under the direct sanction of the prophet:

"For these overcome, by their faith and their works,
Being tried in their life-time, as purified gold,
And seal'd by the spirit of promise, to life,
By men called of God, as was Aaron of old."[246]

Having been called to serve in the ministry by revelation of God through the prophet Moses (Exodus 28:1), Aaron became a type of how these blessings would be controlled. The prophet might not always administer these blessings personally. But each nominee could only be cleared for these ordinances by the prior, official approval of the prophet.

Hence, in Nauvoo "making your calling and election sure" could be achieved in two ways: (1) By direct revelation, and (2) through ordinances conferred after revelation through the Prophet confirmed such an appointment. Thus, the Church through its prophet reserved the keys and pattern of this supreme blessing. Joseph Smith distinguished between the ordination of the twelve disciples as apostles (in Matthew 10) and the bestowal of the sealing power of Elijah upon three of the Twelve (in Matthew 17), for he himself received the authority of the apostleship in 1829 (Joseph Smith-History, 1:72; D&C 27:12), but did not receive the sealing power of the fulness of the priesthood until 3 April 1836 (D&C 110:13-16).[247]

Thus though Joseph received assurance as early as 1831 that he was sealed up unto eternal life, he did not receive the keys of the sealing power of Elijah and the fulness of the priesthood until 1836. It was by the exercise of this power, he taught, that the ordinances of the temple revealed in Nauvoo could have efficacy in and after the resurrection from the dead. Therefore, all ordinances performed by the ecclesiastical power of the Church required this new dimension of authority to have ultimate, eternal binding with the heavens.

27 August 1843: Fulness of the Priesthood Expounded

This principle was made dramatically clear in a discourse given one month and a day before inaugurating the highest ordinances of the temple for the first time in this dispensation.[248] He began the doctrinal portion of his discourse by reading Hebrews 7 and observed that there were three orders of priesthood blessings referred to in this chapter of the New Testament. Those blessings were (1) The Levitical or Aaronic portion of the temple endowment (which the ancient Israelites had); (2) The Abrahamic Patriarchal portion of the temple ordinances, that is, the full temple endowment and eternal marriage; and, (3) The fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the power of a King and Priest to God (see Table 4, Chapter VII). Joseph Smith specifically said, as Brigham Young said three weeks before, that only priesthood blessings (1) and (2) had yet been administered in the Church. He said in this public discourse that the power of the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood was the "power of an endless life."[249] Jesus Christ obtained it because he

> set up [no] stakes [by] say[ing] thus far will we go and no farther . . . no, view him fulfilling all righteousness . . . on

> the banks of jordan, also on the Mount transfigured before Peter and John there receiving the fulness of priesthood or the law of God, setting up no stake but coming right up to the mark in all things.[250]

Regarding Abraham, Joseph said,

> Abraham's was a more exalted power or preisthood [than the Levitical order of temple blessings for there was "no sealing power attending this [Levitical] preisthood," moreover,] he [Abraham] could talk and walk with God and yet consider how great this man [Melchizedek] was when even this patriarch Abraham gave a tenth part of all his spoils and then received a blessing under the hands of Melchizedek even the last law or a fulness of the law or preisthood which constituted [Abraham] a king and priest after the order of Melchizedeck or an endless life.[251]

The conferral of the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood came not by being "a Prophet nor apostle nor Patriarch only but of King and Priest to God to [have the power to] open the windows of Heaven and pour out the peace and Law of endless Life to man and no man can attain to the joint heirship with Jesus Christ without being administered to by one having the same power and authority of Melchisedec."[252]

But Joseph admonished again that "to become a joint heir of the heirship of the Son he must put away all his traditions . . . angels desire to look into [the fulness of the priesthood], but they have set up to[o] many stakes. God cursed the children of Israel because they would not receive the last law from Moses."[253] In concluding his discourse, Joseph fulfilled a promise made in a discourse delivered three months earlier (21 May 1843) when he asked and answered the question:

> What was the design of the Almighty in making man? it was to exalt him to be as God . . . The mystery power and glory of the priesthood is so great and glorious that the angels desired to understand it and cannot: why, because of the tradition of them and their fathers in setting up stakes and not coming up to the mark in their probationary state.[254]

When Joseph gave these discourses, Quorum members concerned over the doctrine of plural marriage no doubt understood the implication: To receive the highest blessings of the Gospel--the fulness of the priesthood--one must put away all old traditions. The Saints had to be willing to obey all God's commands if they were to be worthy to receive the fulness of the priesthood. Moreover, whether one were a president, patriarch or apostle in the Church, unless one received the fulness of the priesthood ordination of king and priest one did not possess all the oracles of God--the power to open the Heavens. And this power could only be conferred by one having the fulness of the priesthood.

Fulness of the Priesthood and the "Keys of the Kingdom"

The revealing of the fulness of the priesthood would infuse all previous ecclesiastical and priesthood developments with new meaning and significance. At the time of this 27 August 1843 discourse, the last-recorded revelation that dealt explicitly with the question of succession--a revelation given in 1833--now took on enlarged meaning. This amplified meaning of the term "keys of the kingdom" as used in that revelation would play a crucial role in the succession question. This 1833 revelation not only confirmed Joseph's personal status of "calling and election made sure" before the Lord, but also confirmed his unconditional status as ecclesiastical head of the Church: "Verily I say unto you, the keys of the kingdom shall never be taken from you, while thou art in the world, neither in the world to come; nevertheless, through you shall the oracles be given to another, yea, even unto the church" (D&C 90:3-4; italics added). This same revelation appointed

Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams as "equal with [Joseph Smith] in holding the keys of this last kingdom" (D&C 90:6). These three then constituted a "presidency" to supervise the preaching and administration of the Gospel throughout the world (D&C 90:6). With each having the oracles--the right of revelation--each could give revelations to the Church, with, of course, Joseph's revelations taking precedence: Only his revelations were to appear in written form (see D&C 28:4-6).

This revelation did not speak of Oliver Cowdery and his relation to this Presidency. Cowdery, the "Second elder," was in Missouri at the time of reception of the revelation. Upon his return in late 1834, Joseph Smith took official action to include Oliver in "assist[ing] in presiding over the Church, and bearing the keys of this kingdom."[255] Specifically and significantly, Oliver was ordained Assistant President of the High Priesthood: "to assist in presiding over the whole church, and to officiate in the absence of the President, according to his rank and appointment, viz: President Cowdery, first; President Rigdon Second; and President Williams third, as they were severally called."[256] In 1836, when Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery received the additional keys of the priesthood, including the keys of the power of Elijah, Joseph and Oliver became co-holders of the highest powers of the priesthood altering in meaning all other previous ordinations and conferrals the Prophet may have bestowed before this time.[257] When Oliver Cowdery and Frederick G. Williams later lost their positions, Hyrum Smith by revelation was ordained to Oliver's commanding position, and William Law took Hyrum's position in the Presidency.[258]

Thus, in 1843, the First Presidency consisted of Joseph Smith, President; Hyrum Smith, Assistant President, co-holder of the keys of Elijah, and a "prophet seer and revelator" (all this by ordination 24 January 1841); Sidney Rigdon, First Counselor, holding the "keys of the kingdom" as conceived and defined in Kirtland (inactive as a President in the Church); and William Law, Second Counselor, in addition to holding the keys as conferred in 1833, holding additionally the "keys of the kingdom" as revealed in the temple endowment but not the power of Elijah or fulness of the priesthood. Each man in the Presidency of the Church, therefore, held different degrees of the "keys of the kingdom." Most would have found it impossible to distinguish between these various levels; but those in the Quorum knew there were such distinctions so clarified by temple ordinance concepts. But clearly these were not distinctions Joseph Smith wished to exist among any leaders in the Church. He did not wish the temple ordinances to make any distinctions among the other Melchizedek Priesthood offices, only so far as his office (as the only one holding all of the keys) and the office of Assistant President of the Church required distinctions.

Thus, in Nauvoo the "keys of the kingdom" took on greatly expanded meaning.[259] These "keys" were conferred in connection with the Nauvoo Temple ordinances unfolded first in May 1842. Yet these May 1842 ordinances were in fact the ordinances pointing to the highest ordination and conferral of keys of the fulness of the priesthood. Thus, Joseph Smith made public the distinction of keys and powers which heretofore were understood best only by the members of the Quorum.

Joseph Smith designed that the fulness of the "keys of the kingdom," the fulness of the priesthood blessings, should be received by the prepared and worthy counselors in the First Presidency. For as Joseph said in September 1842, those to whom "the keys of the kingdom of heaven: . . . [the power to] bind on earth . . . [and it] shall be bound in heaven . . . [are given] there is no difficulty in obtaining a knowledge of facts in relation to the salvation of the children of men, both as well for the dead as for the living" (D&C 128:10-11). Or as the Prophet put it in his most concise but inclusive definition of the authority of the fulness of the priesthood, "Now for Elijah; the spirit, power and calling of Elijah is that ye have power to hold the keys of the revelations, ordinances, oracles, powers and endowments of the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood and of the Kingdom of God on the Earth and to receive, obtain and perform all the ordinances belonging to the kingdom of God . . . [to] have power to seal on earth and in heaven."[260] But Joseph Smith believed in September 1843 that not all the members of the First Presidency as then constituted were ready to receive such blessings and authority.

Emma Smith's Acquiescence

Why? It stems from the fact that after the sealings took place in May 1843 and the revelation on eternal and plural marriage was recorded in July 1843, William Law, William Marks and Emma Smith had their first in-depth knowledge of the extent of the practice of plural marriage.[261] We have to some degree discussed Law's and Mark's reactions to the principle of plural marriage, but we have much more in

the way of contemporary descriptions of Emma's reactions to the principle. We now bring our attention to her specifically because her reactions to the doctrine directly affected the Prophet's timetable of when he would administer the fulness of the priesthood ordinances and begin the long-expected administration of endowment ordinances to the wives of the Quorum members. (William Law and William Marks, and formerly Hyrum Smith, bore responsibility for long delays in the administration of these blessings. But now Law was at least entertaining the possibility of entering plural marriage, and Marks had accepted eternal marriage. Emma is analyzed here because she was to receive her blessings with her husband, and she and Joseph were to be the first on whom the fulness would be conferred.) In fact, Emma was to administer the endowment blessings to the women, but before beginning this work for the women of the Church, he wanted her to receive all the ordinances. But to his dismay, her disapproval of plural marriage deepened after May 1843.

She rejected the revelation when it was read to her 12 July 1843. When a month later she made a six-day trip to St. Louis to purchase furniture for the soon-to-be-completed Nauvoo Mansion, she returned on 12 August 1843--the day the revelation was read and enjoined on the members of the Nauvoo Stake High Council.[262] Apparently disturbed that the work was increasing and not diminishing, she gave Joseph an ultimatum. She wanted him to tell his plural wives that the covenants were null and void. "He had to tell her he would relinquish all for her sake"--and he was apparently willing.[263] Perhaps because she was involved with the sealings of Emily and Eliza Partridge--she too

making an eternal covenant with them at the time--Emma compromised and said to Joseph that he could retain Emily and Eliza. But Joseph was sure that even under these arrangements "she would pitch on him and obtain a divorce and leave him."[264] Joseph told William Clayton of the four days of wrangling with her that followed Emma's return from St. Louis. Clayton was himself suffering family tensions and considered easing those tensions by exactly the same type of release from the eternal marriage covenants underpinning his plural marriage. The Prophet had told him, however, that the seal of the covenant could not be revoked.[265] And Joseph confirmed to Clayton that this rule was just as binding on him despite his own family problems with Emma: for Joseph told Clayton that "he should not relinquish anything."[266] Despite these difficulties, from September through mid-October 1843, Joseph and Emma lived in comparative calm. Apparently Emma's struggles with jealousy and disbelief mellowed during this period.

One glimpse of her vacillation is captured in the following reminiscence of Maria Jane Woodward, one of the girls who worked in the Mansion Home at this time.[267] After all the other workers had gone to bed, the young nineteen-year-old Jane continued to work. She overheard Joseph and Emma talking and then heard Emma crying--"in trouble about something." Joseph went to the door and found Jane in the adjoining room. He requested Jane to go to Hyrum's home and ask Hyrum to come to the Mansion House. When Hyrum arrived and went into the back room, Jane heard Hyrum say, "Well Sister Emma, what is the matter?" Jane heard nothing more. The following day, as Jane was working upstairs making beds, Emma came up and said,

> "It was you that Joseph came to when he sent for Hyrum last night was it?" I said, "Yes Ma'am." Then she told me to sit down on the bed by her and we both sat down on the bed that I was making. She looked very sad and cast down, and there she said to me, "The principle of plural marriage is right, but I am like other women, I am naturally jealous hearted and can talk back to Joseph as long as any wife can talk back to her husband, but what I want to say to you is this. You heard me finding fault with the principle. I want to say that that principle is right, it is from our Father in Heaven," and then she again spoke of her jealousy. . . . "What I said I have got [to] repent of. The principle is right but I am jealous hearted. Now never tell anybody that you heard me find fault with Joseph of that principle. The principle is right and if I or you or anyone else finds fault with that principle we have got to humble ourselves and repent of it."

Jane then recalled that Emma concluded the interview by saying, "I do not know why it is that Brother Hyrum holds such a controlling power over my spirit but when he comes to me and speaks to me I am melted to tears and I cannot talk back to him." Perhaps Emma did not talk back to him because she knew of his earlier deep antipathy towards the principle--something she could never know whether Joseph ever experienced.

She had a dichotomy of emotions towards this doctrine. She deeply accepted it. Yet, this doctrine seemed unfair and a subjugation of herself as mere glory to her husband. Her soul cried out, "Why cannot I have this man to myself, here as well as for eternity?" But she also recognized that a fundamental axiom of eternal companionship was the continuation of male and female sexuality through the eternities. As the "earthly was a figure of the Heavenly" so the multiplication of spirit children would be the glory of those exalted as gods in eternity and the multiplicity of wives would be an enlargement of that glory to all so engaged husband and wives--for all were to share in the responsibilities of this Godhead. But such far-off and glorious

editations would easily be overshadowed by the mundaneness of ortality. The fascinating contradiction of human experience is that en and women can agonize over the realities of their beliefs though hey deeply accept God's truths regarding these principles. Joseph and mma were both humans struggling with principles of eternity.

In the final analysis, perhaps Clayton's record of Emma's roubles and attitude toward the doctrine is unbalanced. He was after ll primarily recording what her reaction was to a doctrine he now ccepted totally and how her actions seemed to affect him. Thus he, nderstandably stressed negative experiences. Devoted as he was to oseph, and a witness of his burdens, he would tend to magnify Emma's ostilities. A diary is, after all, only one person's view, even though t might be the only contemporaneous source available. But we do have nother source regarding Emma's actions, although we cannot be sure that he diary of a dissenter like William Law would be balanced view either. ong before Joseph's death convinced Emma to remain silent on the ubject of plural marriage, long before others chose to infer from her ilence a denial that there ever existed such a practice, William Law oncluded his 1844 diary by saying that Joseph Smith's "wife was about s corrupt as he was."[268] Law saw her grief with the doctrine as less ainful than his; true she was not unwavering in private, but she was in ublic a stoic convert--rigidly resolved to not publicly showing her oubts. Law therefore assumed she had embraced the doctrine. Perhaps it is impossible, with only these documents as evidence, to describe the true Emma that lies between the contradictions of Clayton's and Law's accounts of her.

At any rate, William Clayton recorded that Joseph said that during the period of September through mid-October Emma had been "quite friendly and kind."[269] She, in fact, encouraged Joseph to tell Clayton to move his plural wife, Margaret, into his own home.[270] Emma certainly knew that it would be far less difficult for William's first wife, Ruth, Margaret's sister, to get along with Margaret, than it was for William and Margaret to contend with Margaret's mother, who was still having difficulties over the doctrine.[271]

28 September 1843: New Era for the Quorum

It was during this period of calm that Joseph administered to Emma the washing and anointing ordinances making her the first woman member of the Quorum. The exact date of this event is at present unknown; however, it was on or before 28 September 1843.[272] On that day two meetings of the Quorum were held. At the morning meeting, John Taylor, John M. Bernhisel, Lucien Woodworth, John Smith, and Amasa Lyman received their washings and anointings from under the hands of Hyrum Smith, Newel K. Whitney and George Miller.[273] These five men were the first male initiates into the Quorum since its May 1842 organization. After their initiatory ordinances, Joseph in the upper room of the Brick Store conducted them through the remainder of the endowment. That evening all the above men, plus Emma Smith, Willard Richards, William Law and William Marks met in the front upper room of the Mansion House at 7 p.m. First, Joseph was "by common consent, and unanimous voice chosen president of the quorum."[274] His appointment to be head of the Quorum, while voted upon, was, as he said, by command of God. The Prophet led the group in the true order of prayer, after which, Hyrum

Smith and William Marks at his dictation "anointed and ord^{n} [Joseph] to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood,"[275] viz., a king and priest unto God. After this, Emma was anointed and ordained a queen and priestess unto her husband.

In many respects this meeting was a formal reconstitution of Joseph's Prayer Circle. They had met at least three times since the May 1843 sealings. On 27 August, the Prophet, William Law, William Marks, Hyrum Smith, N. K. Whitney, and Willard Richards met in Joseph's "new house"--the Mansion--and "prayed that Wm Laws father might live and receive the gospel and our families believe and repent and be saved."[276] If Joseph and William Law were at tremendous odds with one another, it was not manifest at this prayer circle. One week later, Sunday evening, 3 September, the same group met and prayed for Hyrum's and Newel's sick children. After this, the Prophet spoke on "future things" and perhaps referred to the possibility of proceeding with the higher ordinances in the near future.[277] One week and a day later, Monday evening 11 September, they had "prayer of the quorum for [William] Law's little daughter" and for "Emma, who was better."[278]

But the 28 September 1843 meeting inaugurated a new era for the Quorum. The highest ordinances of exaltation were first introduced; this was the occasion when for the first time in the history of the Church the fulness of the priesthood was conferred. These ordinances, depending on the person's ecclesiastical position, made the recipient a "king and priest," "in," "in and over," or (as only in Joseph Smith's case) "over" the Church. Moreover, the recipient had sealed upon him the power to bind and loose on earth as Joseph explained in his definition of the fulness of the priesthood. Another blessing, growing out of the

promise of the sealing power was the specific blessing that whatever thing was desired it would not be withheld when sought for in diligent prayer. These three blessings constitute the essence of the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood. Combined in one ordinance, all these blessings (as Joseph Smith from the earliest stages of his ministry taught) were the highest powers available to mortals.

But not until 28 September 1843 had he first institutionalized the conferral of such blessings through an essential ordinance of the Gospel. In many ways it was the greatest day of his life. He had seen the inauguration of the highest ordinances that it was possible for any man or woman to receive in mortality. He taught that no higher powers and blessings than what were given him and Emma that day could possibly be conferred in this life. The Prophet instructed Quorum members that until the Temple was completed "but one king and priest could be anointed at one meeting in a private room dedicated by permission to anoint in. [Furthermore] but one person [and companion] could be anointed in a day." This rule was only temporary. For "in the Temple several could be anointed in a day," he explained, "but [after] each anointing [the meeting should be] dismissed and then c[o]me together again."[279] Thus the Prophet prepared each of the members of the Quorum that they, too, would, when worthy, receive the fulness of the priesthood blessings.

CHAPTER V

AN OVERVIEW OF QUORUM MEETINGS

When Joseph and Emma received the fulness of the priesthood anointings in September 1843, this inaugurated a period of unparalleled expansion in Quorum membership size and frequency of meetings. Pausing at this point in the history of the pre-Martyrdom Quorum, the purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of Quorum meetings. First, a membership list will be provided and the rules of order which governed Quorum activity will be explained. This chapter will then present the impressions of some of the many who were not members of the Quorum, who, nevertheless, were aware of its organization and activity. Lastly, this chapter will conclude with the minutes of a sample meeting of the Quorum.

During the remainder of the Prophet's life, there were fifty-four known Quorum meetings convened for the purpose of holding prayer circles and to confer the ordinances of the endowment and the fulness of the priesthood (See Table 1). One recipient of these blessings recorded that Joseph taught that "these things were to be kept sacred, as it was not to become a general thing till the Temple be finished."[280] In fact, Elizabeth Ann Whitney recalled the Prophet saying that the angel who committed the ordinances to him said that he was "only to reveal them to such persons as were pure, full of integrity to the truth, and worthy to

Table 1

AN OVERVIEW OF ALL KNOWN QUORUM OF ANOINTED MEETINGS
HELD DURING THE LIFETIME OF JOSEPH SMITH

	Date of Meeting	Type of Meeting										Meeting Place				Chronology		
		Endow/Pr Circle	Etrnl Mar/PC	Ful Prstd/PC	PC Only	PC/Sacrament	Instr Meeting	Adj WO Do Bus	Adj W/Spec Date	Ref Prv Mtg	JS Not Present	Red Brick Store	Old Homestead	Mansion House	Brigham Young	Day of Week	Time of Day	# of Hours
1.	4 May 42	8										X				W	A	
2.	5 May 42	2										X				Th		
3.	26 Jun 42				X				X				X			Sn	E	
4.	27 Jun 42							X	X				X			M		
5.	28 Jun 42				X					X			X			Tu		
6.	26 May 43						X		X				X			F	AE	
7.	28 May 43		X						X				X			Sn	AE	
8.	29 May 43		X										X			M	M	
9.	27 Aug 43				X									X		Sn	E	
10.	3 Sep 43				X		X							X		Sn	E	
11.	11 Sep 43				X									X		M	E	
12.	28 Sep 43	5										X				Th	MA	
13.	28 Sep 43			X										X		Th	E	
14.	1 Oct 43	4							X	X				X		Sn	E	
15.	4 Oct 43							X	X							W		
16.	8 Oct 43	4		X										X		Sn	E	
17.	12 Oct 43	2												X		Th	E	
18.	22 Oct 43			X										X		Sn	A	
19.	27 Oct 43			X										X		F	E	
20.	29 Oct 43	3							X					X		Sn	AE	2
21.	1 Nov 43	5										(X)		X		W	E	
22.	5 Nov 43				X							X				Sn	E	
23.	8 Nov 43										X	X				W	E	
24.	12 Nov 43			X									X			Sn	E	
25.	15 Nov 43			X									X			W		
26.	19 Nov 43				X								X			Sn	MA	3
27.	19 Nov 43					X										Sn	E	
28.	22 Nov 43			X									X			W	E	
29.	2 Dec 43	5					X					X				St	A	5
30.	3 Dec 43				X		X					X				Sn	A	
31.	9 Dec 43	4									X	X				St		
32.	10 Dec 43				X		X				X	X				Sn	E	

Table 1--Continued

AN OVERVIEW OF ALL KNOWN QUORUM OF ANOINTED MEETINGS
HELD DURING THE LIFETIME OF JOSEPH SMITH

Date of Meeting	Type of Meeting										Meeting Place				Chronology		
	Endow/Pr Circle	Etrnl Mar/PC	Ful Prstd/PC	PC Only	PC/Sacrament	Instr Meeting	Adj WO Do Bus	Adj W/Spec Date	Ref Prv Mtg	JS Not Present	Red Brick Store	Old Homestead	Mansion House	Brigham Young	Day of Week	Time of Day	# of Hours
33. 16 Dec 43				X		X				X?					St	E	
34. 17 Dec 43	1										X				Sn	AE	3
35. 23 Dec 43	9										X		X		St	MA	
36. 24 Dec 43						X									Sn	E	
37. 30 Dec 43						X					X				St	A	
38. 31 Dec 43					X						X?				Sn	E	4
39. 6 Jan 44															St		
40. 7 Jan 44				X		X					X				Sn	E	
41. 14 Jan 44				X		X				X	X				Sn	E	
42. 20 Jan 44			X							X	X?				St	E	
43. 21 Jan 44			X			X				X	X				Sn	E	
44. 22 Jan 44				X		X								X	M	E	2
45. 25 Jan 44			X											X	Th	E	
46. 26 Jan 44			X			X								X	F	E	
47. 27 Jan 44			X			X					X				St	E	
48. 28 Jan 44			X			X					X				Sn	E	
49. 29 Jan 44				X										X	M	E	
50. 30 Jan 44			X			X								X	T		
51. 31 Jan 44			X											X	W	E	
52. 2 Feb 44			X			X								X	F		
53. 3 Feb 44	3									X	X				St	E	
54. 4 Feb 44			X			X					X				Sn	E	
55. 10 Feb 44				X							X				St	E	
56. 11 Feb 44							X	X							Sn		
57. 18 Feb 44	1					X					X				Sn	E	
58. 25 Feb 44				X		X					X				Sn	E	
59. 26 Feb 44			X								X				M	A	
60. 26 Feb 44			X								X				M	E	
61. 3 Mar 44				X		X									Sn	E	
62. 15 Mar 44				X		X					X				F	E	
63. 17 Mar 44							X	X							Sn		
64. 22 Mar 44				X										X	F	A	

Table 1--Continued

AN OVERVIEW OF ALL KNOWN QUORUM OF ANOINTED MEETINGS
HELD DURING THE LIFETIME OF JOSEPH SMITH

Date of Meeting	Type of Meeting										Meeting Place				Chronology		
	Endow/Pr Circle	Etrnl Mar/PC	Ful Prstd/PC	PC Only	PC/Sacrament	Instr Meeting	Adj WO Do Bus	Adj W/Spec Date	Ref Prv Mtg	JS Not Present	Red Brick Store	Old Homestead	Mansion House	Brigham Young	Day of Week	Time of Day	# of Hours
65. 28 Apr 44				X		X				X					Sn	E	3
66. 11 May 44	2										X				St	A	
67. 12 May 44	2					X									Sn	A	
68. 14 May 44	1						X								T	A	
69. 19 May 44															Sn	A	
70. 25 May 44															St	A	
TOTALS OF ALL MEETINGS	61	2	19	20	2	23	5	9	1	7	26	10	12	8	-	-	-

Legend: Endow/Pr Circle = Endowment and Prayer Circle Meetings;
Etrnl Mar/PC = Eternal Marriage and Prayer Circle Meetings;
Ful Prstd/PC = Fulness of the Priesthood and Prayer Circle Meetings;
PC Only = Prayer Circle Meeting Only;
PC/Sacrament = Prayer Circle Meeting at which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered;
Instr Meeting = Instructional Meeting;
Adj WO Do Bus = Adjourned Meeting Without Doing Business;
Adj W/Spec Date = Adjourned With Specific Date for Reconvening;
Ref Prv Mtg = Previous Meeting of Quorum Specifically Referred to;
JS Not Present = Joseph Smith not present at this meeting of Quorum;
A = Afternoon meeting; AE = Afternoon/Evening Meeting; E = Evening Meeting; and MA = Morning/Afternoon Meeting.

be entrusted with divine messages[;] that to spread them abroad would only be like casting pearls before swine, and that the most profound secrecy must be maintained."[281]

The Mormon population of Nauvoo and its environs is estimated to have been over 10,000. Therefore, Joseph's selection of only 65 individuals--36 men and 29 women--to receive these ordinances was in keeping with these injunctions (see Table 2). Coinciding with this policy, the extant diaries show a marked reluctance on the part of the participants to record full details of the meetings. These were things that were "not to be written."[282] However, through the means of the contemporary diaries of Willard Richards, William Clayton, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, and most importantly Joseph Smith's Diary kept by Willard Richards, the Wilford Woodruff Diary, and the Newel K. Whitney Account Book, a complete list of members can be compiled. A list can be compiled of those individuals admitted during the lifetime of Joseph Smith and of most of those admitted to the Quorum after the Martyrdom and before temple ordinance work began in the Nauvoo Temple. In keeping with the aura of reticence in connection with these meetings, some of the entries in the Joseph Smith Diary were in Taylor shorthand. These diaries also used a large number of titles to describe these private gatherings. The titles used were Holy Order, Quorum of the Priesthood, Quorum of the Holy Order, Quorum of the Anointing, Holy Quorum, First Quorum, Council of the Priesthood, Council pertaining to the High Priesthood, High Quorum, Sacred Meeting, Ancient Order, The Priesthood, Joseph's Lodge, Priest Order, Order of Priesthood, Patriarchal Priesthood, Patriarchal Authority; however, the most frequently used title is simply the one word: "Quorum."

TABLE 2

A SUMMARY OF DATA ON THE INDIVIDUALS WHO RECEIVED THE ENDOWMENT BEFORE ORDINANCE WORK BEGAN IN THE NAUVOO TEMPLE

Males in Order of Initiation	Name	Date of Initiation -----BEFORE THE NAUVOO TEMPLE-----	Marriage Sealing	Fulness of Priesthood	Nauvoo Temple Endowment	Nauvoo Temple Marriage	Nauvoo Temple Fulness of Priesthood	(Earliest) Plural Marriage Date	Masonic Initiation (Males)	Council of Fifty Initiation	Birth	Death
1	Joseph Smith	5 May42	28 May43	28 Sep43	dnr	12 Jan46fn	12 Jan46fn	36-7/5Apr41	15 Mar42	11 Mar44	23 Dec05	27 Jun44
	Emma Hale Smith	28 Sep43*	28 May43	28 Sep43	dnr	dnr	dnr	---	---	---	10 Jul07	30 Apr79
	Elizabeth Davis Durfee	1 Oct43*	---		23 Dec45	22 Jan46			---	---	11 Mar91	
	Phoebe Woodworth (13)	29 Oct43	---	dnr	10 Dec45	17 Jan46fn	17 Jan46ǂ	fn	---	---	1 Oct05	10 Aug64
	Fanny Murray	23 Dec43	---		7 Jan46	13 Mar79fn		2 Nov43	---	---	8 Nov87	11 Jun59
	Marinda Nancy Hyde (19)	18 Feb44	---	dnr	10 Dec45	11 Jan46fn	12 Jan46fn	Apr42	---	---	28 Jun15	31 Mar86
	Mary Ann Frost Pratt (20)	26 Jan45fn	---	nd	10 Dec45	6 Feb46ǂ	7 Feb46ǂ2	nd	---	---	14 Jan09	24 Aug91
	Olive Frost	26 Jan45	---		dbi	dbi	dbi	k3	---	---	24 Jul16	6 Oct43
	Helen Mar Kimball	26 Jan45	---		1 Jan46	4 Feb46	4 Feb46ǂ	May43	---	---	29 Aug28	15 Nov96
	Louisa Beman	26 Jan45	---		29 Dec45	14 Jan46	14 Jan46ǂ	5 Apr41	---	---	7 Feb15	15 May50
	Eliza Roxcy Snow	26 Jan45	---	---	17 Dec45	3 Feb46	6 Feb4h	29 Jun42	---	---	21 Jan04	5 Dec87
	Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner	nd fn	---	dnr	17 Jan45	17 Jan46	15 Jan46ǂ	Feb42	---	---	9 Apr18	17 Dec13
	Sarah Ann Whitney (4 and 37)	26 Jan45	---	27 Mar45*	1 Jan46	12 Jan46	12 Jan46ǂ	27 Jul42	---	---	22 Mar26	4 Sep73
	Mrs Lyon (Sylvia Porter Sessions)	nd	---		16 Dec45	26 Jan46	dnr	k2	---	---	31 Jul18	13 Apr02
	Sister /Lydia/ Dibble (2)	nd	---		nd	dnrfn	30 Jan46fn	fn	---	---	5 Apr90	
	Agnes Smith	27 Jun44*	---	dnr	10 Dec45	28 Jan46fn	28 Jan46		---	---	11 Jul11	76
2	Hyrum Smith	4 May42	29 May43	8 Oct43	dnr	15 Jan46	30 Jan46	11 Aug43	2-	11 Mar44	9 Feb00	27 Jun44
	Mary Fielding Smith	1 Oct43*	29 May43	8 Oct43	10 Dec45	15 Jan46	30 Jan46ǂ	---	---	---	21 Jul01	21 Sep52
	Mercy R. Fielding Thompson Smith	27 Jun44*	29 May43fn	dnr	11 Dec45	nd fn	23 Jan46fn	11 Aug43	---	---	15 Jun07	15 Sep93
	Lydia Dibble	nd	---		nd	30 Jan46	30 Jan46ǂ	fn	---	---	5 Apr90	
3	Brigham Young	4 May42	29 May43	22 Nov43	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	12 Jan46	15 Jun42	7 Apr42	11 Mar44	1 Jun01	29 Aug77
	Mary Ann Young	1 Nov43	29 May43	22 Nov43	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	12 Jan46	---	---	---	8 Jun03	27 Jun82
	Lucy Decker	26 Jan45	---		nd	14 Jan46	14 Jan46	15 Jun42	---	---	17 May22	24 Jan90
4	Heber Chase Kimball	4 May42	nd	20 Jan44	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	8 Jan46	k1-2	23	11 Mar44	14 Jun01	22 Jun68
	Vilate Kimball	1 Nov43	nd	20 Jan44	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	8 Jan46	---	---	---	1 Jun06	22 Oct67
	Sarah Ann Whitney (1)	26 Jan45	---	27 Mar45*	1 Jan46	12 Jan46fn	12 Jan46fn	17 Mar45	---	---	22 Mar26	4 Sep73
5	Willard Richards	4 May42	29 May43	27 Jan44	10 Jan46	22 Jan46	24 Jan46	k3	7 Apr42	11 Mar44	24 Jun04	11 Mar54
	Jennetta Richards	1 Nov43	29 May43	27 Jan44	dbi	22 Jan46	dbi	---	---	---	21 Aug17	9 Jul45
6	Newel Kimball Whitney	4 May42	21 Aug42	27 Oct43	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	12 Jan46	10 Sep44		11 Mar44	5 Feb95	23 Sep50
	Elizabeth Ann Whitney	8 Oct43*	21 Aug42	27 Oct43	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	12 Jan46	---	---	---	26 Dec00	15 Feb82
7	George Miller	4 May42	nd	15 Aug44	10 Dec45	13 Jan46	13 Jan46	46*	19	11 Mar44	25 Nov94	56
	Mary Catherine Miller	27 Jun44*	nd	15 Aug44	10 Dec45	13 Jan46	13 Jan46	---	---	---	29 Jan01	
8	James Adams	4 May42	28 May43	dbi	dbi	dbi	dbi	Jul43		dbi	24 Jan83	11 Aug43
	Harriet Adams	8 Oct43*	28 May43		dbi	dbi	dbi	---	---	---	31 Jan87	21 Aug44
9	William Law	4 May42	dnrfn	dnrfn	dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	25 Apr42	dnr	8 Sep09	19 Jan92
	Jane Law	1 Oct43*	dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	---	---	---	osl4	8 Sep82
10	William Marks	4 May42	nd	22 Oct43	dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	20 Apr42	19 Mar44	15 Nov92	22 May72
	Rosannah Marks	1 Oct43*	nd	22 Oct43	dnr	dnr	dnr	---	---	---		18 Oct63
11	John Taylor	28 Sep43	30 Jan44*	30 Jan44	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	15 Jan46	12 Dec43	22 Apr42	11 Mar44	1 Nov08	25 Jul87
	Leonora Cannon Taylor	1 Nov43	30 Jan44*	30 Jan44	10 Dec45	7 Jan46	15 Jan46	---	---	---	6 Oct96	9 Dec68
12	Amasa Lyman	28 Sep43	nd	18 Apr45	10 Dec45	13 Jan46	13 Jan46	k4	8 Apr42	18 Apr44*	30 Mar13	4 Feb77
	Mary Louisa Tanner Lyman	22 Dec44e	nd	18 Apr45	10 Dec45	13 Jan46	13 Jan46	---	---	---	28 Nov18	3 May06
13	Lucien Woodworth	28 Sep43	nd	dnr	10 Dec45	17 Jan46fn	17 Jan46fn	46*		11 Mar44	3 Apr99	20 Nov67
	Phoebe Woodworth (1)	29 Oct43	dnrfn	dnr	10 Dec45	17 Jan46fn	17 Jan46ǂ	---	---	---	1 Oct05	10 Aug64
14	John Smith	28 Sep43	nd	26 Feb44	10 Dec45	15 Jan46	15 Jan46	46		18 Apr44*	16 Jul81	23 May54
	Clarissa Smith	8 Oct43*	nd	26 Feb44	10 Dec45	15 Jan46	15 Jan46	---	---	---	27 Jun90	14 Feb54
15	John Milton Bernhisel	28 Sep43		dnr	nd fn	20 Jan46	20 Jan46	26 Oct43*		11 Mar44	23 Jun99	28 Sep81
16	Reynolds Cahoon	12 Oct43*	nd	12 Nov43	11 Dec45	16 Jan46	16 Jan46	46*		11 Mar44	30 Apr90	29 Apr62
	Thirza Cahoon	29 Oct43	nd	12 Nov43	11 Dec45	16 Jan46	16 Jan46	---	---	---	18 Oct89	20 Nov67
17	Alpheus Cutler	12 Oct43	nd	15 Nov43	11 Dec45	14 Jan46	14 Jan46	46*		11 Mar44	29 Feb04	10 Aug64
	Lois Cutler	29 Oct43	nd	15 Nov43	11 Dec45	14 Jan46	14 Jan46	---	---	---	24 Sep88	
18	Orson Spencer	2 Dec43	nd	nd	11 Dec45	15 Jan46	15 Jan46	46*		19 Mar44	14 Mar02	15 Oct55
	Catherine Spencer	23 Dec43	nd	nd	11 Dec45	15 Jan46	15 Jan46	---	---	---	21 Mar11	12 Mar46
19	Orson Hyde	2 Dec43	dnrfn	25 Jan44	10 Dec45	11 Jan46	12 Jan46fn	20 Jul43*		13 Mar44	8 Jan05	28 Nov78
	Marinda Nancy Johnson (1)	18 Feb44	dnrfn	dnr	10 Dec45ǂ	11 Jan46fn	12 Jan46fn	Apr42fn	---	---	28 Jun15	31 Mar86
20	Parley P. Pratt	2 Dec43	23 Jun43fn	21 Jan44	10 Dec45ǂ	10 Jan46	12 Jan46	24 Jul43		11 Mar44	12 Apr07	13 May57
	Mary Ann Frost Pratt (1)	26 Jan45fn	23 Jun43fn	nd	10 Dec45	6 Feb46ǂ	7 Feb46ǂ	---	---	---	14 Jan09	24 Aug91

TABLE 2 - Continued

Males in Order of Initiation	Name	Date of Initiation -----BEFORE	Marriage Sealing THE NAUVOO	Fulness of Priesthood TEMPLE-----	Nauvoo Temple Endowment	Nauvoo Temple Marriage	Nauvoo Temple Fulness of Priesthood	(Earliest) Plural Marriage Date	Masonic Initiation (Males)	Council of Fifty Initiation	Birth	Death
21	Wilford Woodruff	2 Dec43	11 Nov43	28 Jan44	dnr	dnr	dnr	15 Apr46	26 Apr42	13 Mar44	1 Mar07	2 Sep48
	Phoebe Woodruff	23 Dec43	11 Nov43	28 Jan44	dnr	dnr	dnr	---	---	---	8 Mar07	10 Nov85
22	George A. Smith	2 Dec43	20 Jan44	31 Jan44	10 Dec45	13 Jan46	13 Jan46	29 Nov44		11 Mar44	26 Jun17	1 Sep75
	Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith	23 Dec43	20 Jan44	31 Jan44	10 Dec45	13 Jan46	13 Jan46	---	---	---	3 May22	20 Sep10
23	Levi Richards	9 Dec43		nd		27 Jan46	27 Jan46			11 Mar44	14 Apr99	18 Jun76
24	Cornelius P. Lott	9 Dec43	20 Sep43	4 Feb44	11 Dec45	22 Jan46	22 Jan46	46*		18 Apr44*	27 Dep98	6 Jul50
	Permelia Lott	23 Dec43	20 Sep43	4 Feb44	11 Dec45	22 Jan46	22 Jan46	---	---	---	15 Dec04	6 Jan82
25	William Wines Phelps	9 Dec43	2 Feb44*	2 Feb44	10 Dec45	15 Jan46	15 Jan46	46*		11 Mar44	17 Feb92	7 Mar72
	Sally Phelps	23 Dec43	2 Feb44*	2 Feb44	10 Dec45	15 Jan46	15 Jan46	---	---	---	24 Jul97	
26	Joseph Fielding	9 Dec43	nd		12 Dec45	23 Jan46	23 Jan46	45*		18 Apr44*	26 Mar97	19 Dec63
	Hannah Fielding	1 Nov43	nd		12 Dec45	23 Jan46	23 Jan46	---	---	---	4 Sep08	9 Sep77
27	Samuel Harrison Smith	17 Dec43			dbi	dbi	dnr		9 Apr42	dnr	13 Mar08	30 Jul44
28	Isaac Morley	23 Dec43	26 Feb44*	26 Feb44	11 Dec45	14 Jan46	14 Jan46	46*		1 Mar45fn	11 Mar86	24 Jun65
	Lucy Morley	23 Dec43	26 Feb44*	26 Feb44	11 Dec45	14 Jan46	14 Jan46	---	---	---	24 Jan86	3 Jan48
29	Orson Pratt	23 Dec43		26 Jan44	12 Dec45f	8 Jan46f	13 Jan46f	44		11 Mar44	19 Sep11	3 Oct81
	Sarah Pratt	nd			12 Dec45	8 Jan46f	13 Jan46f	---	---	---	5 Feb17	
30	William Clayton	3 Feb44	22 Jul43	dnr	11 Dec45f	26 Jan46f	26 Jan46f	27 Apr43	16 Apr42	11 Mar44	17 Jul14	4 Dec79
	Ruth Clayton	29 Mar45fn	22 Jul43	dnr	11 Dec45f	26 Jan46f	26 Jan46f	---	---	---	13 Jun17	15 Jan94
31	Joseph Young	3 Feb44	12 Jan45*	12 Jan45	12 Dec45	16 Jan46	16 Jan46	46		1 Mar45	7 Apr97	16 Jul81
	Jane A. Bicknell Young	3 Feb44	12 Jan45*	12 Jan45	12 Dec45	16 Jan46	16 Jan46	---	---	---	14 Aug14	15 Jan13
32	John P. Greene	11 May44			dbi	dbi	31 Jan46fn		29 Apr42	Mar44	3 Sep93	10 Sep44
33	Sidney Rigdon	11 May44		dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	15 Mar42	19 Mar44	19 Feb93	14 Jul76
34	Almon W. Babbitt	12 May44		dnr	7 Jan46	24 Jan46	24 Jan46	46*		18 Apr44*	1 Oct13	Aug56
35	William Smith	12 May44		dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	45	25 Apr42	25 Apr44	13 Mar11	13 Nov94
36	Lyman Wight	14 May44		dnr	dnr	dnr	dnr	45	25 Apr42	18 Apr44*	9 May96	31 Mar58
37	Joseph Corrodon Kingsbury	26 Jan45	23 Mar43f	dnr	10 Dec45	26 Jan46	28 Jan46	29 Apr43		dnr	2 May12	15 Oct98
	Sarah Ann Whitney	26 Jan45	29 Apr43fn	27 Mar45*	1 Jan46	12 Jan46fn	12 Jan46fn	---	---	---	22 Mar26	4 Sep73
38	John Edward Page	26 Jan45			10 Dec45	dnr	dnr		21 Apr42	1 Mar45	25 Feb99	14 Oct67
	Mary Page	26 Jan45			10 Dec45	dnr	dnr	---	---	---		
39	Joseph Bates Noble	20 Mar45*					23 Jan46	5 Apr43		dnr	14 Jan10	15 Sep93
	Mrs Noble (Mary A.)	45						---	---	---	19 Oct10	14 Feb51
40	Charles Hyde	2 May45			8 Jan46		dnr			dnr	16 Jul14	

Data on other individuals who received the Endowment who are not listed above where they were either Widows or not completely identifiable

	Lucy Mack Smith	8 Oct43*		12 Nov43	11 Dec45f	25 Aug97		---	---	---	8 Jul76	5 May55
	Mrs (Unreadable)							---	---	---		
	Unreadable											

Data on individuals who possibly received the Endowment before the Nauvoo Temple work began

	Vinson Knight	31 Jul42*	---	dbi	dbi	dbi	dbi	41-2	9 Apr42	dbi	18 Mar04	31 Jul42
	Rhoda Richards				10 Jan46	31 Jan46fn	31 Jan46fn	12 Jun43	---	---	8 Aug84	
	Zina Diantha Huntington							27 Oct41	---	---	31 Jan21	29 Aug01
	Joseph Allen						dnr			dnr		
	Lucy D. Morley Allen						dnr	---	---	---	4 Oct15	

Abbreviated Title of this Document: Nhat Endowment Data Summary

Legend: dnr =did not receive (or enter); nd=no date available; dbi=died before introduced; * = activity on or before date given; f = with spouse (either in person or proxy); fn = footnote explains further; --- = not applicable; a number in parenthesis, e.g., (19), indicates that the female with this number beside the name is also listed with the male numbered, as in this case 19. Only the last two digits of the year are provided for dates since context makes sufficiently clear whether the date is an eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth century date.

There were rules for admission to, order in, and attendance at meetings of the Quorum. The best firsthand account of these proprieties and particularly the process of admission to the Quorum) is from William Clayton. Clayton had known of the existence of the Quorum for some time before he was admitted in February 1844. In fact, he knew of the convening of this group 26 May 1843, when the Quorum discussed the "new and everlasting covenant of marriage" the day of Hyrum's conversion to the "priesthood." On 19 October 1843, the Prophet told Clayton that he and Emma had only recently received the anointing of the fulness of the priesthood. A month later, however, Clayton's agony would begin. On 21 November, Clayton went to the Prophet's home to request him to attend to some business. Joseph could not attend to it but he sent Hyrum. Clayton in conversation with Hyrum "learned from H[yrum]. that E[mma]. had power to prevent my being admitted to J[oseph]'s Lodge for the present for which I feel somewhat sorry."[283] Apparently difficulties between William and Emma had surfaced again. Clayton optimistically concluded, however, "but yet [I] believe that innocence will finaly [sic] triumph."[284] Eleven days later, he was near despair. William had a private conversation with Alpheus Cutler, who indicated that Reynolds Cahoon was upset with Clayton over something. Both Cutler and Cahoon were members of the Quorum and both had by this time received the fulness of the priesthood ordinances. The ever-emotional and dramatic Clayton confided to his dairy that evening, "I now realize my situation more sensibly than I ever did in my life. I might have the privilege of being received into the quorum of anointing but Cahoon has got there and through private pique he is resolved to deprive me of that

privilege. That added to Emma's determination to be revenged sink[s] my mind & fills me with agony, but I believe," as he said before, "that innocence will finally triumph & I shall be prospered. . . . I wrote a long letter to J[oseph]. on the subject."[285]

He saw the Prophet reading the letter the following day. Two days later, Joseph sent for William in the evening and explained to him briefly the order of the Quorum. Clayton recorded, "He returned my letter & said I had no need to be troubled, the only reason why I was not admitted into the quorum was because there is no convenience, and none were admitted only for a particular purpose by Revelation."[286] The Prophet calmed him concerning his troubles with Cahoon. Joseph reported that Cahoon had only a few days before said Clayton was "true blue."[287]

At the 21 January 1844 meeting of the Quorum a vote was taken and the members by common consent approved the admission of William Clayton. Perhaps as a good-will gesture to prove to Clayton that his feelings were unfounded, Cahoon was sent to inform Clayton of the good news. The day after the Quorum meeting "[B]ro. Cahoon came . . . to say," Clayton records, "that a vote had been taken on my being admitted into the quorum & I was accepted. This filled my heart with joy, and gratitude for truly the mercy of the Lord and the kindness of my brethren have been great to me."[288] Three days later, William notes that "Sis[ter] Durphy," one of the members of the Quorum, "came to make my Robe & Garment."[289] Eight days later, on Saturday 3 February 1844, he wrote in his diary the events of that special day. That evening, he records,

> [I] was permitted to the ordinance of washing and anointing, and was received into the Quorum of Priesthood. This is one of the greatest favors ever conferred on me and for which I feel grateful. May the God of Joseph preserve me & mine house to walk in the paths of righteousness all the days of my life & oh that I may never sin against him or displease him for thou oh God knowest my desire to do right that I may have eternal life.[290]

Clayton's experience demonstrates the rules governing admission to the group. Members were selected for specific purpose by revelation and had to be approved by common consent of the members of the Quorum. After all, since the prayer circle would be ineffectual if members were at odds with one another, unanimous approval of new members was a necessity.

Joseph Smith said that by revelation he had premonitions he would not live until the Temple was completed, and so he was commanded by revelation to give these blessings to a number of faithful individuals.[291] These two interrelated reasons for administering these ordinances before completion of the Nauvoo Temple undergirded his approach to Quorum activity and development. Each individual to be so blessed was to be identified by revelation. John Smith, one of the Quorum, told Justus Morse "that Joseph fearing he would be killed before the mysteries of the Endowment were given, had given Endowment to twenty-four of the priesthood, with their wives."[292] There were exactly twenty-four couples (plus other individuals without their wives) who received these ordinances from Joseph Smith (see Table 3).[293] However, as with other revelations and administrative activities in the Church, before such revelation was put into effect, Joseph sought to obtain the common consent of those involved.

TABLE 3

THE TWO NEWEL K. WHITNEY LISTS OF MEMBERS OF THE ANOINTED QUORUM

There are two lists made originally by Newel K. Whitney of those who received endowments during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. The first list was made sometime in 1844; the second list was an 1845 update of the 1844 listing to reflect post-Martyrdom initiations into the Quorum. William Clayton copied Whitney's first list on 3 September 1844 and that is presented in roman type below. Those portions of the list below in italics are the 1845 additions as they appear in the Newel K. Whitney account book. Bracketed in numbers identifying the twenty-four couples endowed during Joseph Smith's lifetime are to the left of the appropriate names.

Since the name of John Smith begins Whitney's list, we know the list was not begun before 28 September 1843, the day John Smith was initiated. The names of "Jos[eph] Smith & w[ife]" do not appear until much later in the list, after "O[rson] Hyde & [wife]" appear. Since Orson Hyde's wife was not a member of the Quorum until 18 February 1844, the list probably was not started until then, if not later. And since Clayton's copy of Whitney's list is in exactly the same order as in Whitney's account book (except that the names of O. Pratt and P. Pratt are transposed), Whitney's original list was probably not started any later than 3 September 1844. Spellings and abbreviations are as in the indicated copies of the Whitney list. Whitney only omitted three known names: Amasa M. Lyman, *Mary L. T. Lyman*, and Fanny Murray.

[1] John Smith & wife 2
[2] Hyrum Smith & do 2
Mercy R. Thompson 1
[3] W. Woodruff & Wife 2
[4] G. A. Smith & W 2
[5] N. K. Whitney & do 2
[6] R. Cahoon & do 2
[7] A. Cutler & do 2
[8] Jno Taylor & do 2
[9] O. Hyde & do 2
[10] James Adams & do 2
[11] H.C. Kimball & do 2
[12] B. Young & do 2
[13] O. Spencer & do 2
O. Pratt 1
P. P. Pratt 1 *[& w 2]*
[14] W. Richards & Wife 2
J.M. Bernhisel 1
[15] L. Woodworth & wife 2
[16] W. Law & wife 2
Sis Durfee 1
Mother Smith 1
[17] Geo. Miller & W 2
[18] Jos. Smith & W 2
[19] Wm. Marks & W 2
[20] Jos. Fielding & W 2
[21] C.P. Lott & W 2
L. Richards 1
[22] W. W. Phelps & W 2
S. H. Smith 1
[23] Isaac Morley & W 2
Agness Smith 1
[24] Jos. Young & W 2
W. Clayton 1
J. P. Green 1
S. Rigdon 1
Wm. Smith 1
Almon Babbit 1
Louisa Beaman 1
S. A. Whitney 1
Lucy Decker 1
Eliza R. Snow 1
Olive Frost 1
Jn Page & w 2
Jo C Kingsbury 1
[unreadable name]
Mrs [unreadable name]
Mrs Lyon 1
Mrs Dirken (?)
Mrs Noble (?)

Administration of Quorum Ordinances

The order in which the ordinances were performed was strictly followed. Wilford Woodruff's journal (rounded out by some other souces) gives us an intimate glimpse of one such experience. Three weeks after he received his endowment, Wilford's wife, Phoebe, was appointed to receive hers. In the morning they walked together the half mile from their home to the Mansion House.[294] After arriving, she was invited into Emma's room where along with sisters Bathsheba W. Smith, Fanny Murray, Lucy Morley, Permelia Lott, Sally Phelps, and Catherine Spencer, Phoebe received her washing and anointing from Sister Mary Fielding Smith.[295] Emma was present, seated in a chair, supervising the administration of the ordinances. "At that time," Bathsheba W. Smith relates, "Emma . . . said in my presence, to me and the others who were present on the occasion, 'Your husbands are going to take more wives, and unless you consent to it, you must put your foot down and keep it there.'"[296] While neither Bathsheba's nor Phoebe's husbands would take plural wives until after the death of Joseph Smith,[297] it was ironic that Emma mixed this instruction with the exalted blessings conferred upon them in their washings and anointings. Ironic, too, that she did this on the Prophet's birthday--his 38th, and, as it turned out, his last birthday.

At the same time the initiation ordinances were performed for the previously named women in the Mansion House, Orson Pratt and Isaac Morley received their initiatory ordinances in the side room of the upper floor of the Red Brick Store. Following this, the men and the women thus initiated met in the large room of the Store, where as in May 1842, the room was subdivided into the compartments in which they

received the various phases of the temple instructions. When they had passed through a curtain veil, the Prophet gave them instructions and lectures (particularly on prayer) after which they engaged in a prayer circle. When they prayed, they generally prayed for present needs: for the sick, for those requiring spiritual and temporal assistance, and for the leaders and missionaries of the Church. Quorum members would make a list of names of individuals who had such special needs. The roll of names would then be read from while the circle unitedly prayed for these specific individuals. When the Quorum engaged in these prayer circles, often the diary accounts expressed that there was a tremendous feeling accompanying the exercise of their faith through the ordinances of the Gospel.

After the remainder of the Quorum of the Apostles (who were in Nauvoo at the time) received the endowment ordinances, the practice of regularly meeting every Saturday and Sunday evening was established (see Table 1). The Prophet, and those the Prophet had instructed in the nature of those ordinances, would occupy time in explaining the meaning and use of these "keys of the kingdom." When the prayer meetings were held on Sunday, the participants would often partake of the sacrament of bread and wine while listening to lectures by Joseph and others on these sacred subjects.

In addition to the Joseph Smith Brick Store and the Mansion House, ordinance meetings were held in the Prophet's first home in Nauvoo, the "Old Homestead," and in Brigham Young's home. While the upper room of the Brick Store was the most convenient place for administering the "ancient order of the priesthood," endowments were also given in the Mansion House and the Old Homestead. For example, all

women that received their endowments in October 1843 received them in the Mansion House. Apparently the Prophet adjusted the arrangements so the endowment could be administered in a smaller room requiring only one altar and the veil.

Awareness by Non-Quorum Members of Endowment Activity

By late December 1843, over fifty individuals were attending the regular ordinance/prayer meetings. With so many people attending the regularly held meetings, the Quorum comings and goings were obvious to some who were not members of the Quorum. Emily Partridge, one of Joseph's plural wives living in the Mansion at this time, later said, "I know that [Joseph] did give endowments to a few of the brethren and their wives, in one of the upper front rooms of the Mansion House. I was not one of the favored ones but I witnessed the preparation for the same, and saw the making of the clothes . . . [and] knew of his having prayer meetings there."[298]

Emma was in charge of preparing the room and ironing the clothing. Some of the clothing was kept in nicely folded bundles in the prayer room. Some residing outside Nauvoo were permitted to have their clothing at their homes.[299] Jane Manning James, a Negro convert to the Church from Connecticut, arrived in Nauvoo in late 1843 and worked and lived in the Joseph Smith home. The first day she washed clothes in the basement she found among the clothes "Joseph's robes" and wondered about their significance. "I pondered over them and thought about them so earnestly," she later recalled, "that the Spirit made manifest to me that they pertained to the new name that is given to the Saints that the world knows not of."[300] Jane apparently showed Joseph's garments to

Maria Jane Woodward, who also worked in the Mansion.[301] It was while she was living with John Smith in Macedonia, however, when Jane Woodward first became aware of the temple clothing. Joseph had sent word for his uncle to come to Nauvoo. Since Clarissa, John's wife, was sick, she asked John to have Jane wash and iron the clothes before John's departure the next day. John explained the clothing to Jane and the reason he wanted it in good condition. The robes were in a chest locked up, inside of a little cotton bag made for the purpose. "These clothes," Jane explained later, "were never put out publicly, in the washing or in any other way. When we washed them we hung them out between sheets, because we were in the midst of the Gentiles."[302] The clothing was considered a restoration of the ancient priesthood clothing worn preparatory to officiating in priesthood ordinances as was the case during the Mosaic dispensation. Joseph Smith taught that the clothing and the preparatory washings and anointings that are described in Exodus 28-30 were for Moses as it was for Joseph Smith: the restoration of the most ancient ceremonial practices. Thus this clothing was considered another sacred aspect of the "restoration of all things"--a restoration essential to fulfilling the prophecy uttered by John the Baptist when Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were ordained to the Aaronic Priesthood. According to their testimony, the Baptist said, "and this [priesthood] shall never be taken again from the earth ['that'] the sons of Levi ['may yet'] offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness."[303]

Ebenezer Robinson, former editor and publisher of the Nauvoo Times and Seasons, the Church's official newspaper, was one day walking with the Prophet to the Brick Store. They parted company in the store and Joseph went up the back stairs to the upper floor to attend to the

dministration of the ordinances. Moments later, Ebenezer remembered hat he had something else to say to the Prophet. When he ascended the tairs, he instead found John Taylor "in a long white garment, with a drawn sword in his hand, evidently representing the 'cheribims and flaming sword which was placed at the east of the garden of Eden, to guard the tree of life.'" John Taylor then informed Ebenezer Robinson that Joseph was already inside and for obvious reasons could not be summoned.[304] The experiences of these men and women who did not receive the endowment ordinances during the lifetime of Joseph Smith show that many outside the circle of the Quorum either were intentionally informed or inadvertently learned of the existence of new temple ordinances.

Records of and Instructions Given In Quorum Meetings

There are no known minutes of the meetings when these ordinances were introduced during Joseph Smith's lifetime. But glimpses of what happened during these Quorum meetings is provided in brief and guarded diary entries of some of the participants. Wilford Woodruff, for example, gives us some details of the instructions and discussions that always accompanied these meetings. A week after he was initiated into the Quorum, Woodruff records:

> In the evening I met with the quorum Br Joseph was not present B Young was called to the chair who addressed the meeting in a very feeling manner and interesting to our minds, he reasoned clearly that we should follow our file leaders and our savior in all his law and commandments without asking any questions why they were so He was followed by P.P. Pratt and others who expressed their minds freely several sick were prayed for.[305]

Shortly before ordinance work began in the Nauvoo Temple, Brigham Young called for Sunday Quorum meetings to be held there. Heber C. Kimball recorded in his diary that the announcement that the "Holy

Order" would assemble in the Temple each Sunday for instruction and partaking of the Sacrament gave the women "great joy."[306] At this time the exclusivity of the Quorum finally ceased. In meetings, patterned exactly as those held in Joseph's day, those who received their endowment in the Nauvoo Temple and became new Quorum members were then instructed in the meaning of the ordinances by the original Quorum members. As Amasa Lyman explained, it was not that the original Quorum members were better than those new initiates, it was only that the original Quorum members "[had] been permitted to have these things revealed unto them" first.[307] Unlike the Quorum meetings in Joseph's day, however, minutes were kept of these meetings in the Temple. These minutes contain reference to the ordinances, references too explicit for publication. But in 1880, Helen Mar Whitney, daughter of Heber C. Kimball, edited her father's journal containing those official minutes and published them. They have never been republished in the century since. In their edited form they not only represent the finest explanation of the meaning of the ordinances yet published, but they are also the closest approximation of the experience Quorum members had when instructed in the same manner from Joseph the Prophet. The instruction given by George A. Smith, Heber C. Kimball, and Amasa M. Lyman to the new initiates is representative.

> "Sunday, December 21st," writes his clerk [William Clayton], "According to appointment on Sunday last a meeting was held in the east room. * * Seventy five persons were present, Elder H. C. Kimball presiding." After mentioning the names of the brethren and sisters, he says, "At five minutes before eleven the song, "Glorious things of thee are spoken" was sung-father John Smith then made a few remarks--blessed the bread and it was handed round by Bishop George Miller--The wine was blessed by Bishop Miller and handed round [sic] by him. While the wine was passing around Elder George A. Smith arose and addressed the congregation. He thanked God for the privileges this day enjoyed, [sic] and spoke of the difficulties under which the

church had labored to attain to the blessings we now enjoy. Another thing he thanked God for--Already [we have] had more than five hundred persons through [the Temple Endowment ceremonies], and therefore, if half of them should be like the foolish virgins and turn away from the truth, the principles of the Holy Priesthood [still] would be beyond the reach of mobs and the assaults of the adversaries of this Church. Order was one of the laws of heaven. When we come together * * and unite our hearts and act as one mind, the Lord will hear us and will answer our prayers. He related an instance of some children being healed and cured of the whooping cough in one night through the prayers of himself and Elder Woodruff in Michigan, while they were there on a mission [in June 1844 before the death of the Prophet Joseph]. Said that whenever they could get an opportunity they retired to the wilderness or to an upper room, they did so [and prayed after the Holy Order] * * and were always answered. It would be a good thing for us * * every day [to] pray to God and in private circles. * * * We are different from what we were before we entered into the quorum —Speedy vengeance will now overtake the transgressor. When a man and wife are united in feeling, and act in union, I believe that they can hold their children by prayer and faith, and will not be obliged to give them up to death until they are fourscore years old. Sometimes men trifle and destroy the confidence which each ought to have in the other, this prevents a union of faith and feeling. The apostacy of Thos. B. Marsh was caused by so small a thing as a pint of stripplings--and his oaths brought the exterminating order which drove us all out of Missouri.

"The woman ought to be in subjection to the man-be careful to guard against loud laughter--against levity and talebearing. He expressed his unfeigned love for the brethren and his confidence in their endeavors to keep these rules. "The Spirit of God" was then sung. Elder Kimball next addressed the meeting. He concurred in all that had been said, the observation of these things is most essential. About four years ago next May [which would have been May 4, 1842 to be exact] nine persons were admitted into the Holy order--five are now living, B. Young. W. Richards, George Miller, N. K. Whitney and H. C. Kimball, two are dead [James Adams, d. 11 August 1843 and Hyrum Smith, d. 27 June 1844], and two are worse than dead [meaning William Law and William Marks]. You have not got all you will have if you are faithful. He spoke of the necessity of women being in subjection to their husbands, "I am subject to my God, my wife is subject to me and will reverence me in my place, and I will try to make her happy. I do not want her to step forward and dictate to me any more than I dictate to President Young. In his absence I take his place according to his request. Shall we cease from loud laughter? * * Will you never slander your brother and sister? I will refer your minds to the covenants you have made by an observance of these things you will have dreams and visions. * * * We shall not be with you long. We cannot rest day or night until we put you in possession of the Priesthood. * * If we have made you clean every whit, go now to

work and make others clean." * * There are from seven to twelve persons who have met together every day to pray ever since Joseph's death, and the people have been sustained upon this principle. Here is Brother Turley[; he] has been liberated by the power of God and not of man.

Elder Cahoon bore testimony of the importance of those things which had been spoken, and rejoiced in the idea that the things he was taught in the beginning were the same things now taught and remembered, and it is so because they are eternal things.

The assembly was then formed for prayer, and Elder John Taylor being mouth the whole congregation united with him in prayer. * * At ten minutes past two the meeting was dismissed and another congregation met in the same room.

At three o'clock sang, "Hosanna"--prayer by Orson Hyde, after which by invitation of Elder Kimball who presided (President Young not having been at the Temple today, and the duty of presiding having devolved upon Elder Kimball as the next in successiou [sic]) Amasa Lyman addressed the assembly, he said, "Doubtless with most of the present assembly it is the beginning of a new era in their lives--they have come to a time they never saw before--they have come to the commencement of a knowledge of things, and it is necessary that they should be riveted on their minds. One important thing to be understood is this, that those portions of the priesthood which you have received are all essential matters.

It is not merely that you may see these things, but it is a matter of fact, a matter that has to do directly with your salvation, for which you have talked and labored many years. It is not for amusement you are brought to receive these things, but to put you in possession of the means of salvation, and be brought into a proper relationship to God--hence a man becomes responsible for his own conduct and that of his wife, if he has one. It is not designed that the things that are presented today should be forgotton [sic] tomorrow, but be remembered and practiced [sic] through all life-Hence it is a stepstone to approach to the favor of God. Having descended to the lowest state of degradation, it is the beginning of a homeward journey: it is like a man lost in a wilderness, and the means with which we are invested here are to direct us in our homeward journey. You then see the reason why you are required to be sober, to be honest, that you could ask and receive, knock and it should be opened, and that when you sought for things you would find them. ["It is putting you in possession of those keys by which you can ask for things you need and obtain them--this is the key by which to obtain all the glory and felicity of eternal life . . ."] It is the key by which you approach God. No impression which you receive here should be lost. It was to rivet the recollections of these things in your memory, like a nail in a sure place never to be forgotton [sic]. The scenery

through which you have passed is actually laying before you a picture or map, by which you are to travel through life, and obtain an entrance into the celestial [sic] Kingdom hereafter. If you are tempted in regard to these things here [in the Temple], you will be tempted when you approach the presence of God hereafter. You have, by being faithful, been brought to this point, by maintaining these things which have been entrusted to you. * * * It is not merely for the sake of talking over these things that they are given to you, but for your benefit and for your triumph over the powers of darkness hereafter. We want the man to remember that he has covenanted to keep the law of God, and the woman to obey her husband, and if you keep your covenants you will not be guilty of transgression. The line that is drawn is for you to maintain your covenants, and you will always be found in the path of obedience, after that which is virtuous and holy and good, and will never be swallowed up by unhallowed feelings and passions. If you are found worthy and maintain your integrity, and do not run away and think you have got all your endowment, you will be found worthy after a while, which will make you honorable with God. You have not yet been ordained to anything, but will be by and by. You have received these things because of your compliance with all the requisitions of the law, and if faithful you will receive more. You have now learned how to pray. You have been taught how to approach God and be recognized. This is the principle by which the church has been kept together, and [it has] not [been by] the power of arms. A few individuals have asked for your preservation, and their prayers have been heard, and it is this which has preserved you from being scattered to the four winds. Those who have learned to approach God and receive these blessings, are they better than you? The only difference is they have been permitted to have these things revealed unto them. The principles which have been opened to you are the things which ought to occupy your attention all your lives. They are not second to anything; you have the key by which, if you are faithful, you will claim on your posterity all the blessings of the Priesthood."

Elder H. C. Kimball said, "The ideas advanced by Brother Lyman are good and true. * * * God is like one of us, for He created us in his own image. Every man that ever came upon this earth, or any other earth, will take the course we have taken—Another thing, it is to bring us to an organization, and just as quick as we can get into that order and government, we have the celestial [sic] Kingdom here. You have got to know your brethren or you never can honor God. The man was created, and God gave him dominion over the whole earth, but he saw that he never could multiply and replenish the earth without woman; and He made one and gave her to him. He did not make the man for the woman but the woman for the man. * * But if a man does not use a woman well and take good care of her, God will take her away from him and give her to another. Perfect order and consistency makes heaven, but we are now deranged, and the tail has become the head. * * * One reason why we bring our wives

> with us is that they may make a covenant with us to keep these things sacred. * * You can't sin so cheap now as you could before you came to this order [viz. received the ordinances of the Endowment]. It is not for us to reproach the Lord's anointed, nor to speak evil of him; all have covenanted not to do it." * * *
>
> Elder George A. Smith made a few remarks; he spoke principally in relation to the importance of keeping sacred those principles which we had received. * * He was followed by Elder Orson Hyde. * * The congregation was dismissed by prayer by Elder John Taylor.[308]

This is a sample of how the (at least) fifty-three meetings held during the remainder of Joseph Smith's lifetime were conducted. It can be no wonder that these meetings brought "great joy" to those who had faith in the highest ordinances of the Gospel first formalized in and during the first fully constituted prayer circle held 28 September 1843.

CHAPTER VI

A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS

In the latter third of 1843, Joseph Smith did not feel he had the full support of his two counselors in the First Presidency. In addition to his sense of mistrust with his highest advisors, he and his people faced increased threats from enemies in Missouri. Finally, William Law broke with Joseph on the principle of plural marriage. The Prophet, as he had increasingly done throughout the Nauvoo period, consequently turned to the Twelve Apostles for support and advice. Moreover, he initiated the remainder of the Twelve into the Anointed Quorum and bestowed the fulness of the priesthood on Brigham Young. And then at the time that two members of the Quorum were suspected of aiding Missourians in another attempt to extradite the Prophet, Joseph Smith blessed his son to be his eventual successor and authorized Brigham Young to bestow on the remainder of the Twelve Apostles the full authority of the priesthood--a privilege that had not been given to the majority of any other quorum in the Church.

October 1843 Quorum Meetings

One of the key meetings of the Quorum that would establish the role the Quorum would have in succession after Joseph Smith's death was the 1 October 1843 meeting. At this meeting, all who participated in the Quorum meeting the previous Thursday met in the Mansion. In

addition, Jane Law, Rosannah Marks, Elizabeth Durfee and Mary Fielding Smith (who received their washings and anointings from Emma before the start of the meeting) were then added to the Quorum. Joseph Smith then proceeded to anoint as counselors in the First Presidency, William Law and Amasa Lyman. While Law's anointing was in accordance with a revelation (D&C 124:91), the reason for Lyman's anointing was not made clear in the brief Joseph Smith Diary entry. But in light of a division existing between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, first counselor in the First Presidency, this anointing of Lyman takes on great importance. On Sunday, 13 August 1843, Joseph Smith during his public sermon "showed that Sidney Rigdon had bound himself by an oath . . . to deliver J[oseph] into the hands of the Missourians."[309] Joseph then "in the name of the Lord withdrew the hand of fellowship from [Sidney Rigdon] and put it to the vote of the people. He was cut off by an unanimous vote and orders [were given] to demand his [ministerial] licence."[310] The following Sunday, Sidney denied these charges. But on the Sunday after that, Joseph produced a letter from Thomas Carlin that he felt was so evasive it clouded Sidney's case. By acclamation, the Saints decided the problem should be resolved at the October 1843 general conference of the Church.[311] But Joseph had so little confidence in Rigdon's loyalty that the week before the conference trial Joseph, during the 1 October 1843 Quorum meeting, "re-anointed" Law and Lyman counselors in the Presidency. When Joseph was questioned about doing this in advance of Sidney's fall, he gave this terse answer that was more than metaphor, "Why, (said he), by the same rule that Samuel anointed David to be King over Israel while Saul was yet crowned."[312] Jedediah M. Grant who overheard this explanation said that though the

Prophet's answer was cryptic it "proved a quieter to all their rising conjectures."[313] Neither William Law nor Amasa Lyman received the fulness of the priesthood on this occasion, however. In fact, neither man received these blessings during the lifetime of Joseph Smith.[314] So while William Law received the anointing referred to in D&C 124:91, yet he was not given the fulness of the oracles of God.

The meeting adjourned with the expectation that the Quorum would meet the following Wednesday evening, 4 October 1843, when Hyrum Smith would receive the fulness of the priesthood ordinances.[315] The "council of the quorum" met briefly and found, however, that Hyrum was too sick to attend.[316] Consequently, they adjourned until after the general conference. The following Sunday evening (8 October 1843) the Quorum met at Joseph's home. Harriet Adams, James Adams's widow (he had died in August); Elizabeth Ann Whitney, wife of Newel K.; Clarissa Smith, John Smith's wife; and Lucy Mack Smith, widow of Joseph Smith, Sr., and mother of the Prophet, were received into the Quorum. They then witnessed the conferral of the fulness of the priesthood ordinances upon Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith.[317]

In like manner, meetings were held through October. New members of the Quorum were added while senior members of the Quorum received the fulness of the priesthood. For example, on 22 October 1843, while twenty-four witnessed, "William Marks and wife were anointed"; and on 27 October 1843, "Bishop Whitney and wife were anointed."[318]

The Twelve Apostles and the Quorum

When the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles returned to Nauvoo in late October 1843, following their summer missions, preparations began

for the remainder of the Twelve then residing in Nauvoo to receive their endowment. Since late spring the apostles had been on missions in the East "collecting means to build the Temple and the Nauvoo House,"[319] and Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball had not met with the Quorum since the eternal marriage meetings in May. However, when Brigham and Heber arrived in Nauvoo on 22 October 1843, less than two hours before the next of the regularly scheduled prayer meetings, they spent very little time at home resting or visiting with their families--for they left their homes and immediately went to the Quorum meeting. Brigham put it matter-of-factly: "went in to counsel with the Brethern in the afternoon."[320] A little over a week later, these wives were rewarded for their patience. On Wednesday, 1 November 1843, the wives of the four apostles already members of the Quorum received their admittance to the Quorum. Brigham Young's wife, Mary Ann; Heber Kimball's wife, Vilate; Willard Richards's wife, Jennetta; and John Taylor's wife, Leonora, received their washings and anointings from Emma in the Mansion House.[321] Willard Richards had prepared the room in Joseph's Brick Store for conferring endowments, but for some reason they met for only a prayer meeting in the Mansion.[322] The following Sunday, however, Joseph, having tired of the inconvenience of administering the endowment in such small quarters, requested schoolmaster Mr. Cole to "find some other Room for his school," "as the room [was] needed for councils."[323] So Willard Richards again prepared the store room as on the first and that evening the women received the endowment.

Two and one-half weeks later Brigham Young, President of the Quorum of the Twelve, was the first of the apostles to receive the fulness of the priesthood. The evening of 22 November 1843, at Joseph's

"old house B Young was anointed and wife."[324] Brigham and Mary Ann received the ceremony under the hands of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.[325] After it was over, Joseph charged Brigham "to take the quorum [of the Twelve] and anoint them kings and priests to God."[326]

However, five members of the Twelve then in Nauvoo had not as yet received the first anointings. When Brigham received the anointing as king and priest, apostles George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff, who were the last of the members of the Twelve then residing in Nauvoo who had not previously been initiated to the principles of eternal and plural marriage, were only recent converts to these principles. George A. Smith, who arrived with Brigham and Heber on 22 October, was met at the boat landing by Hyrum Smith. On their way to his home, Apostle Smith later recalled, Hyrum "recited the most of the Revelation of Patriarchal Marriage, and invited me to his home to receive further instructions."[327] The following day, George A. Smith met with the Prophet who "gave [him] additional views on the subject, and spoke of the results of the same in the eternal worlds."[328] Hyrum Smith was equally punctual in teaching these things to Wilford Woodruff upon his arrival in Nauvoo on 4 November 1843. Wilford had to attend to some unpleasant business regarding his unfinished home the first week after arriving.[329] However, on 11 November 1843, he and his wife Phoebe spent the evening in conversation at John Taylor's home. Apostle Woodruff recorded in his daily diary that "Br Hiram Smith was . . . with us & presented som ideas of much interest to me concerning Baptism for the dead, the resurrection redemption & exhaltation in the new & everlasting covenant that reacheth into the eternal world. He sealed the marriage covenant between me & my wife Phebe W Carter for time &

ternity & gave us the principle of it which was interesting to us."[330]

thus the final preparations had been made. At the first meeting of the Quorum after Brigham Young received the fulness of the priesthood, Apostles Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith received their "anointing preparitory for further Blessings."[331] Three weeks later, 23 December 1843, Orson Pratt also received his endowment.[332] By this time nine members of the Quorum of the Twelve had received the endowment ordinances. All nine had accepted, in principle, the doctrines of eternal and plural marriage, and six of the nine had entered the practice of plural marriage (See Table 2).[333]

Increased Tensions

The return of the Twelve Apostles and their admission to the Quorum coincided with a period of increased fear in Nauvoo. When tension between the Mormons and the county and state officials escalated after the August 1843 election, Joseph Smith had reason to expect that efforts by officials or vigilantes to extradite him to Missouri on the charge of attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs might still be attempted. A mood of violence and opposition was increasing among Hancock county and Illinois state leaders regarding the Mormon question.

In late November 1843, the increased antipathy by Illinois politicians unsettled the Saints and many felt that the scenes of Missouri persecutions could be reenacted in Illinois. When Joseph Smith began receiving replies from the U.S. presidential candidates to the effect that they would be helpless in coming to the aid of the Saints' violated rights, the Prophet mounted another effort to bring this wrong to the attention of the entire country.[334] In the months

ahead, Joseph initiated a number of measures designed to publicize the Saints' plight hoping that such publicity would avert further hostilities. It would have been a mistake for him to believe, however, that outsiders would interpret defensive efforts to shield his people from such a confrontation as nothing other than brash, offensive-minded maneuvers. In fact, it is not hard to understand how people in Illinois came to such conclusions when Joseph Smith himself became a candidate for the U.S. presidency. Though Joseph Smith believed that he was merely seeking to secure a safer refuge for the Mormons and himself when he asked Congress to designate both Nauvoo as a federal district[335] and the Nauvoo Legion as federal troops,[336] and when he by special ordinance suspended the right of Missouri to arrest him in Nauvoo city limits,[337] he must have realized that some would interpret such actions as the high-handed flexing of political muscle. The returning apostles, however, on 5 December 1843 "agreed to take hold and assist in earnest" regarding the protective measures Joseph was then employing for the safety of the Saints.[338]

If Missourians could not accomplish extradition of Joseph Smith by legal means, Joseph Smith and other Nauvoo citizens believed they might try to do it secretly with the aid of a dissenting top Mormon leader. Just after election day in August, Joseph Smith accused one counselor in the First Presidency, Sidney Rigdon, of such treachery. But in October, Rigdon was acquitted.[339] The acquittal was not exactly to Joseph's satisfaction; nevertheless, the Prophet continued his premeditated exclusion of Rigdon from all the private developments of the Church including the introduction of the temple ordinances. Rigdon's vindication in October 1843, however, did not diminish concern

that some high official in the Church could be more effective in accomplishing Missouri designs than legal processes could. So when Orrin Porter Rockwell arrived in Nauvoo Christmas day 1843 and reported to Joseph Smith that someone near to the Prophet in his private councils was indeed offering aid to his enemies in Missouri, one man just then deciding he would finally reject plural marriage became the Prophet's prime suspect--William Law.

Acting on Rockwell's tip, when the Prophet four days later organized a police force[340] of forty men he told them,

> My life is more in danger from some little dough head of a fool in this city than from all my numerous and inveterate enemies abroad . . . and if I can escape from the ungrateful treachery of assassins, I can live as Caesar might have lived, were it not for a right-hand Brutus. All the enemies upon the face of the earth may roar and exert all their power to bring about my death but they can accomplish nothing, unless some who are among us and enjoy our society, have been with us in our councils, participated in our confidence . . . join with our enemies, turn our virtues into faults, and by falsehood and deceit, stir up wrath and indignation against us, and bring their united vengeance upon our heads . . . we have a Judas in our midst.[341]

The Quorum meeting held two days later was the first William and Jane Law or any Quorum members were absent from without excuse.[342] Law had just made his decision against plural marriage, and when he on 2 January heard that policemen speculated that he was the "Brutus" mentioned he went to Hyrum Smith.[343] According to Law, Hyrum was astonished at the speculating. Hyrum went and discussed this with Joseph. Then Hyrum went and brought Law to see the Prophet. "[Joseph] said he never intended any such idea to be conveyed and that he would have the Council and Police together tomorrow."[344]

At the council the next day, William Law identified Eli Norton as the one who told him that he was the suspected "Brutus."[345] When

Norton was called to the stand he testified that what he told Law was something he inferred from a conversation with fellow policeman, Bishop Daniel Carn. When Carn came to the stand, he said that he was only telling Eli Norton his own speculations. His speculations were based on a discussion he had with Law regarding plural marriage. In the discussion Carn found that Law was against the doctrine. So when Norton in his conversation with Carn said that "Bro Law knew about the spiritual wife system," Bishop Carn related to Norton the substance of what he learned from William Law. "Bro Law and me had conversation," Bishop Carn related to the City Council and the police, "about stories afloat on spiritual wifes. [Law] thought it was from the devil. - and we must put it down that he knew such a thing was in existence. breaking up of families &c."[346] William Law immediately interjected, "Did I ~~said~~ [sic] not say we have a good foundation [for putting down plural marriage] because Joseph blowed it all up before the High council. & Hyrum before the Elder Quorum." Bishop Carn responded, "Yes . . . [however,] Law did not speak disrespectfully of Joseph or at the Church."[347]

Law's strategy was going to be the same as before Hyrum's conversion to plural marriage, but now he knew more. In particular, he learned (undoubtedly from Presidents William Marks and Austin A. Cowles, who were present) that the revelation on plural marriage had been read to the High Council on 12 August 1843.[348] Though the High Council was sworn to secrecy on the doctrine, nevertheless, one contemporary source reported that "Hyrum said before the High Council that . . . The law that a man shall take his brothers wife and raise up seed unto him as it was in israel must be again established."[349] Only the day before

teaching this principle to the High Council, Hyrum Smith had been sealed for time to his wife's sister, the widow, Mercy Thompson, with a covenant that any seed from the union would be given up in the resurrection to Hyrum's "brother," Robert B. Thompson. Over such teachings, whatever their Biblical precedents, three men of the High Council eventually left the Church. Austin A. Cowles, who would provide William Law an affidavit summarizing the August meeting, resigned his position in the Nauvoo Stake Presidency one month later on 23 September. Leonard Soby eventually left the Church to join Sidney Rigdon in teaching against Joseph's practice of plural marriage. William Marks left Nauvoo because the Twelve Apostles after the Martyrdom were determined to carry on the practice started by Joseph.[350] (The remainder of the High Council went west with the apostles and later testified of Hyrum's teachings and reading of the revelation on plural marriage to the council.)[351] Law was not only willing to publicize the now well-known "blowing up" of plural marriage before the High Council, but he was also aware of Hyrum going before the Elders Quorum to teach this principle.[352]

William Law's reference during the City Council public meeting to the teaching of the doctrine before the Elders Quorum and the High Council outwardly did not bother the Prophet. Yet as the minutes report, the Prophet felt constrained to explain to the City Council and the police what the "Spiritual wife system" was.[353] During his explanation, he then made two comments that would characterize his approach to handling this new threat from William Law. First, he said, "The man who promises to keep a secret and does not keep it [and reveals truths that were to remain hidden] he is a liar and not to be trusted."[354]

Obviously he was not a liar in terms of what he said but because he said what he said. William Law had made such covenants when he received his endowments; but now he was disclosing these concepts without permission of the Prophet. Secondly, the Prophet said, "When a man becomes a traitor to his friends or country who is innocent . . . it is right to cut off his [sic] influence so that he could no[t] injure the innocent."[355] The Prophet believed that a complete disclosure of plural marriage would probably bring a mob on Nauvoo. And even if it did not do this, at least the innocent and naive in the faith might have their testimony shaken and destroyed by learning "meat before being weaned from spiritual milk." Despite these comments by the Prophet, William and Joseph remained at least public friends. William Law said, "There was no man in the city more zealous to support Mormonism that himself. I have ever been ready to stand forth one against 9 for the defence [sic] of Joseph and am yet. if he lives till I shed his blood or strike a hair from his head he will live till he is as old as Methusalah.—and I firmly believe if I live till Joseph kills me or sets any one to kill me I shall live as long as I shall want to."[356] Thus the "doe head" speculations were smoothed out at this City Council meeting--but not for long.

The next day, however, new rumors were afloat. Leonard Soby told William Law that Warren Smith, another policeman, believed that William was the "Brutus" and that William Marks was another. William Law went with his brother, Wilson, and Hyrum Smith to see the Prophet, and according to William, Joseph "became very angry that any should have any fears or suspect that he would encourage such a thing, and said that he had a good mind to put them (the police) on us any how, we were such

fools, or words to that effect. It produced an indignation in my heart," William observed "that I could not control . . . some hard words passed between us"[357] ending their interview. So the City Council met again the next day, 5 January 1844. "Joseph," according to William, "said he would not think such a thing of Bro. Law or Bro. Marks for they were lovely men both of them."[358] Then Law summarized his own remarks. "Joseph had nothing to fear from me, I was not his enemy (I did not say I was his friend). I said that if he and I had any difficulties or should have any hereafter I thought we could settle them between ourselves without calling on the Poliece [sic]."[359]

After the meeting was over, and the rumors finally squelched, Joseph, according to the History of the Church, confided his feelings to his journal.

> What can be the matter with these men? Is it that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, that hit pigeons always flutter, that drowning men catch at straws, or that Presidents Law and Marks are absolutely traitors to the Church, that my remarks should produce such an excitement in their minds. Can it be possible that the traitor whom Porter Rockwell reports to me as being in correspondence with my Missouri enemies, is one of my quorum? The people in the town were astonished, almost every man saying to his neighbor, "Is it possible that Brother Law or Brother Marks is a traitor, and would deliver Brother Joseph into the hands of his enemies in Missouri?" If not, what can be the meaning of all this?[360]

B. H. Roberts, when he excerpted this comment for his Comprehensive History of the Church, interpolated the Prophet's phrase "is one of my quorum" to mean the "first presidency."[361] Perhaps Joseph had more in mind the Anointed Quorum since he was talking about both William Law and William Marks, the latter not being a member of the First Presidency. And though Law recorded in his diary that "nothing very important transpired,"[362] the two days following the Prophet's private musings,

actually something very important occurred. Both Law and Marks did not attend the Quorum meetings that Saturday and Sunday evening, and at the 7 January 1844 meeting William Law became the first person ever dropped from the Quorum.[363] Bathsheba W. Smith, a member of the Quorum, later recalled,

> I was present when William Law, Joseph Smith's counselor, was dropped from [the Anointed] quorum by each one present voting yes or no in his turn. He was the first member that was dropped who had received his endowments. One member hesitated to vote, which called forth earnest remarks from the Prophet Joseph. He showed clearly that it would be doing a serious wrong to retain him longer. After his explanation the vote was unanimous.[364]

Exactly what Joseph's explanation was we do not know. It no doubt reflected his expectation that Law would accelerate his effort to reveal plural marriage to the public. And during these times an insider like Law could do infinite damage now that he had finally concluded to reject the principle.

Law did not come to his decision quickly. Beginning with the 26 May 1843 Quorum meeting he weighed the question of eternal marriage and then later began giving serious consideration to accepting the doctrine of plural marriage. Writing on 1 January 1844, Law described his struggle:

> Fearful and terrible, yea most distressing have been the scenes through which we have past, during the last few months. The recollection paralizes the nerves, chills the currents of the heart, and drives the brain almost to madness. Had it not been for the goodness of God, surely we had been lost, overwhelmed, swallowed down in the vortex of iniquity, through our religious zeal we harkened to the teachings of man, more than to the written word of God; yea, (for a short moment) even in contradiction to the Commandments of the most high; but his spirit prevailed and before the fearful step was taken, the abomination that maketh desolate glares before our view, lights burst from before the Throne of Jehovah, and we saw and learned that justice and truth, virtue and holiness, could alone bring us into the presence of God.

But it is even now, as in the day of Adam, Satan sayeth "transgress and you shall not die."

> The evening of this day I have spent at my brother Wilson Law's, a small party of friends were assembled there, and after partaking of an excellent ~~supper,--we--conversed--upon-various-subject,-amongst--the--rest the--Doctrine--(so-called)--of--plurality--and--and-Community-of wives;-they-were-strongly-disapprobated~~, refreshment we returned home.[365]

The day after Law was dropped from the Quorum, he recorded his reaction to the decision.

> I was passing along the street near my house, when call'd to by Joseph Smith, he said I was injuring him by telling evil of him, he could not name any one that I talked to, he said my wife was injuring him and that Wilson Law was doing so too; he could not give any authority but was very angry, and told me I had no longer a place in the Quorum, and that he had cut me off from the first Presidency and appointed another in my place. Some unpleasant words ensued, I told him his cause was not only unjust but dishonourable, &c &c.[366]

Perhaps this encounter reassured the Prophet that it was better to have Law released from the First Presidency and the Quorum so Law would have less influence with the Saints now that he had decided against Joseph and plural marriage. Then Law further reflected:

> I thank God that he opened my understanding to know between truth and error, in relation to plurality & community of wives, and that I had fortitude to tell Joseph that it was of the Devil and that he should put it down & I feel that I have opposed a base error and that the eternal God is on my side, and if I am persecuted it is because I vindicate principles of virtue and justice, not that I wish to injure any man, but I love the truth, and hate to see the virtuous destroyed and brought down into corruption and vice, and finally cast upon the world as unclean.[367]

Although Law then was unable to say as he had said in 1841, "Brother Joseph is truly a wonderful man, he is all we could wish a prophet to be,"[368] yet we learn that five days later he still had not abandoned hopes for a monogamous form of Mormonism.

> Several days have elapsed without any important move that I know of; what my feelings have been I cannot relate, various and painful at times almost beyond endurance: a thousand recollections burst upon my burning brain, the past, the present, and the future, disappointed hopes, injured feelings, where they should have been held sacred; the holy religion of Jesus Christ perverted to meet the base designs of corrupt men, these things are as poison'd arrows in my bleeding heart,—yet Heaven is my hope, and Christ is my friend.[369]

Joseph Smith's Response To Threats From Within and Without

Joseph was now required to do several things that he hoped would placate those opposed to plural marriage without actually abandoning either the principle or its practice. Specifically, Joseph did not believe the doctrine was "of the Devil." But now that Law claimed "God was on his side" in his opposition to this "base error," Joseph felt the consequences of Law's decision could be injurious to many innocent members of the Church. In particular, he knew his responsibility as guardian to the Lawrence Estate could be misunderstood given the fact that he was sealed to Maria Lawrence--a fact that made him particularly vulnerable to William Law.

In June 1841, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and William Law had assumed the responsibility of the deceased Edward Lawrence's estate valued at $7,750.06.[370] Joseph was named as guardian of the Lawrence children. Somehow during his period of indecision, William Law found out that Maria Lawrence was sealed as a wife to Joseph; in fact, Law, as he later stated, found Joseph in a compromising situation with Maria on 12 October 1843.[371] Two weeks later, 26 October 1843, Joseph ostensibly sealed Maria for time to John M. Bernhisel, an outsider to the Lawrence estate arrangements.[372] But in January 1844, Joseph apparently felt this would no longer calm the angered William Law. The day after

Joseph and William's final confrontation, Joseph began arrangements to relinquish the estate affairs entirely. From the ninth to the twenty-third, William Clayton was working with the Prophet preparing the transfer of the estate affairs to John Taylor.[373] Undoubtedly, if William Law, one of the appointed trustees of the estate, "claimed" that Joseph had not only extorted the funds of the estate, but had also committed adultery with the eldest child of whom he was personal guardian, that would make an explosive expose.

While others later chose to emphasize Joseph's procedures as used in January 1844 as evidence that Joseph finally abandoned plural marriage, William Law was not in the least bit convinced. For example, when Hyrum Smith issued a thinly veiled denial of "plural marriage," Law was not persuaded.[374] "[We] were not doing anything in the plurality of wife business now,"[375] Hyrum said in an attempt to encourage Law to return to full fellowship. Hyrum showed William the denial published in the Times and Seasons. William recorded his response in his diary. "When I came to examine the piece refered [sic] to I found that it amounted to this, that no one should preach or practice such things unless by revelation (of course through Hyrum or Joseph)."[376] In February 1844 the Law brothers published a poem expressing their skepticism regarding the denials:

This is the secret doctrine taught
By Joe and The red rams--
Although in public they deny--
But then 'tis all a sham.

Then, reminding Joseph of their knowledge of the Lawrence orphans, the Laws added,

But Joe at snaring beats them all
And at the rest does laugh
For widows poor, and orphan girls,
He can ensnare with chaff,
He set his snares around for all,
And very seldom fails.[377]

Thus Joseph was alerted that the January 1844 effort to placate and reassure the Laws was unfruitful. They were aware Joseph would do what was necessary to protect the Church from public censure and at the same time protect his most devoted disciples. For example, when Joseph Smith counseled William Clayton to move William's noticeably pregnant plural wife, Margaret, into the Clayton home, Joseph assured William that if some "raise trouble about it and bring you before me I will give you an awful scourging and probably cut you off from the church and then I will baptise you & set you ahead as good as ever."[378] What was said and done in public was guarded and carefully worded in order to protect both the Church and his faithful colleagues as they entered practices illegal in the sight of man yet covenants they were assured were commanded by God. But the embittered William Law contradicted his previous acquiescence and could now only see this as sinful duplicity.

And true to Joseph's January expectations regarding William Law's desire to make public these private teachings, Law appeared before the first sitting of the Grand Jury of the Hancock County circuit court to swear out charges against Joseph. Law filed charges and presented such evidence that the Grand Jury authorized an indictment against Joseph Smith for "adultery and fornication."[379] While Law made oath that Joseph "live[d] . . . an open state of adultery and fornication"

"certain women," the only woman he named was Maria Lawrence.[380] estified of two dates when Joseph Smith allegedly committed the gal acts--specifically the one date already mentioned, 12 October and the other date 1 January 1844, the day Law began his diary.[381]

Two and a half weeks after his testimony before the May 1844 of the Hancock circuit court, Law's Nauvoo Expositor was blished--and destroyed. On 12 June 1844, two days after the truction of the press, constable David Bettisworth arrived in Nauvoo serve warrants for the arrest of Joseph, Hyrum, and the others who oke the press. After the reading of the writ, Joseph went to obtain a of habeas corpus. While Joseph was gone, Hyrum spent two hours lat[ing] the whole history of the difficulty with Wm Law to the onstable and a man with him--showing them what we believed on sealing the covenant--that Law wanted to be sealed and J[oseph]. told him he forbid--which begun the hard feelings."[382] But such explanations not calm the indignation of the restless county. The destruction of press only gave excuse to Hancock County anti-Mormons to take the into their own hands. Two weeks later Joseph and Hyrum were killed Carthage. In the final analysis, Joseph was unsuccessful in avoiding final confrontation with William Law even with his attempts to llify Law beginning the previous January.

Joseph, sometime during this period, also undertook to pacify his wife Emma on plural marriage. Perhaps because Emma knew Joseph was illing or had to equivocate on the practice, and because she had grown o jealous with the continued presence of rival wives Emily and Eliza Partridge, and perhaps because Joseph had decided to rent the Mansion House to Ebenezer Robinson and only reserve three rooms for himself and

his family, Joseph felt the Partridge sisters could be moved out of the Mansion House with a minimum of embarrassment.[383] The Partridge sisters were hired girls in the Mansion, and with the change of management could have been discharged at this time. Maybe this economic move of renting the Mansion, which certainly relieved the Prophet of the worrisome burden of running an active hotel in addition to the incredible amount of responsibilities he also had as the leader of the Church also helped to remove the sting of the decision to move out his plural wives. But it was not a painless transition. Emily did not take Emma's railroading of Joseph too well. In after years, though, she came to believe he could have done no differently under the circumstances. And perhaps more importantly, Emily, after Emma's death, was not vindictive towards her.

> After these many years I can truly say; poor Emma, she could not stand polygamy but she was a good woman and I never wish to stand in her way of happyness and exaltation. I hope the Lord will be merciful to her, and I believe he will. It is an awful thought, to contemplate misery of a human being. If the Lord will[,][384] my heart says let Emma come up and stand in her place.

A model of compassion, empathy and Christian understanding, Emily then confided her innermost thoughts and judgment about Emma: "Perhaps she has done no worse than any of us would have done in her place. Let the Lord be the judge. /s/ Emily D.P. Young."[385]

The Joseph Smith III Blessing

During this period of increased personal concern for his own life, caused by threats from outside Nauvoo and also by threats perceived from within his closest circle, Joseph Smith did two other things of great significance. Both of these actions by the Prophet would play a crucial role in succession in leadership of the Church.

irst, in January 1844, he blessed his son, Joseph III, to be his ventual successor, and, secondly, he had Brigham Young administer the rdinances of the fulness of the priesthood to the other members of the uorum of the Twelve Apostles then present in Nauvoo--an action that mplicitly charted the course the Quorum of the Twelve would have to ake six months later when Joseph was dead.

No contemporary minutes seem to exist of the 17 January 1844 eeting where the Prophet blessed his son. However, the text of the lessing does exist. It is in the hand of Thomas Bullock and seems to e Bullock's final draft of his own recording of the blessing perhaps aken down in shorthand.[386] The blessing is in two sections. First, he blessing and designation of Joseph Smith III as Joseph the Prophet's successor to the Presidency of the High Priesthood," a blessing declared to be an "appointment [which] belongeth to him by blessing, and lso by right." The second section of the blessing is a revelation listing the promises of the Lord to Joseph III. One promise may reflect the Prophet's concern for his own safety at this time. The revelation is particular in mentioning that a mature Joseph III would be a tabilizing influence in the Smith family, implying that the family ould be deprived of Joseph the Seer. For the blessing asserts that "he shall be a strength to his brethren, a comfort to his mother . . . when he is grown."

Yet the most important promise was the first promise: the promise that the Lord would not allow Joseph III to lead the Church astray after his ordination as a "Seer, and a Revelator and a Prophet, unto the Church," for if he were to begin to do so, "I, the Lord, will receive him, in an instant, unto myself." This revelation and blessing

then presupposed that before Joseph Smith III would receive his appointment as leader of the Church he would have proven worthy of the Church's highest ordinances and blessings. If this was not the pre-condition of the blessing, then the language of the revelation would have been somewhat like the following: "if he abides not in me, I, the Lord, will cast him out." As it stands though, the wording implies that at the time of his Presidency his salvation would be secure. For according to the revelation, if he did not abide in the Lord, "I, the Lord, will receive him, in an instant, unto myself." At this same time Joseph Smith received a similar revelation assuring him that the members of the Twelve Apostles then in Nauvoo had made their calling and election sure. Beginning three days after Joseph Smith III's blessing, the revelation concerning the Twelve Apostles was confirmed on their heads by their receiving the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood. As Brigham Young later related it,

> Before Joseph's death he had a revelation concerning myself and others, which signified that we had passed the ordeal, and that we should never apostatize from the faith of the holy gospel; "and," said Joseph, "if there is any danger of your doing this, the Lord will take you to Himself forthwith, for you cannot stray from the truth." When men and women have travelled to a certain point in their labors in this life, God sets a seal upon them that they never can forsake their God or His kingdom; for rather than they should do this, He will at once take them to Himself.[387]

Joseph Smith did not teach that such individuals could never fall.[388] But apparently he believed that men and women who had had sealed on them the keys to ask and receive, if they prayed always that they would prefer to be taken than to fall to temptation, the Lord would honor such a prayer, even if they were apparently taken "early." Such was the doctrinal foundation of the reiterated witness of Presidents of the LDS

hurch when they taught, as did President Wilford Woodruff, that "the ord will never permit me nor any other man who stands as the President this Church, to lead you astray. It is not in the programme. It is in the mind of God. If I were to attempt that, the Lord would emove me out of my place, and so He will any other man who attempts to ead the children of men astray from the oracles of God and from their uty."[389] But such a blessing for the leader of the Church did not come ith the office itself. It came because of proven worthiness by the man alled to fill that office. Joseph Smith himself did not at first eceive such assurances regarding his own prophetic role. Thus, when oseph blessed his son as his eventual successor, he was implicitly romising him that the time would come--not that it had come--when he ould receive the blessings of the fulness of the priesthood--a blessing nd an ordination to the office of king and priest that came not by "the ill of Father nor Mother . . . but only of God." These blessings would ome to Joseph Smith III only as they had come to the Twelve Apostles--fter proven fidelity.

We do not know for certain who was present for the anointing lessing. Willard Richards was working on the Manuscript History of the hurch in the side room of the upper floor of the Red Brick Store and ould easily have attended what may have been a brief meeting in the ain room of that structure.[390] Joseph Smith and William Clayton, who ere together in the Mansion House all day working on city lot business, had to walk only a few hundred feet to the store to attend to the eremony.[391] Joseph Smith III says that George J. Adams was present for the blessing.[392] Reminiscent reflections of the occasion consistently

mention the names of Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Newel K. Whitney, Alpheus Cutler and Reynolds Cahoon as attendees.[393] We know though that apostle Wilford Woodruff was not there.[394] And while some accounts say approximately twenty-five persons were present, none of the available Nauvoo diaries for these dates recorded even hints of this meeting or the blessing.[395] This may have been by design. Given that Joseph Smith was at this time concerned that his life was in danger from a traitor from within his closest circle, it is not unreasonable to assume he requested that no one present make public the fact of young Joseph's designation—after all Joseph III had only two months before turned eleven years of age.[396]

In after years some claimed that on the following Sunday (which was 21 January 1844), Joseph Smith publicly identified his son as his successor.[397] While Wilford Woodruff says there was "a large assembly of Saints" present, Willard Richards recorded in the Prophet's diary more specifically that there were "several thousand people" present.[398] Yet, no person was moved to record such an important public announcement if it was made that day. Only Apostle Woodruff recorded the Prophet's discourse, the themes of which are not inharmonious with the Prophet's actions a few days before. Just as the Prophet spoke of the temple ordinance of eternal marriage and hinted of plural marriage four days after recording the revelation on eternal and plural marriage in July 1843, so, too, four days after blessing Joseph III, he spoke of the temple ordinances, the only ordinances that could seal progenitors and progeny in eternal covenants that form the patriarchal chain of order back to Adam. In the Prophet's thinking such ordinances were the only

means of fulfilling the commission of Elijah to Joseph and Oliver when they received from him the keys of the sealing power in the Kirtland Temple in April 1836.[399] The text Joseph Smith chose for his discourse was from Malachi 4:5-6--the coming of Elijah to bind and seal "the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to their fathers lest [the Lord] come and smite the whole earth with a curse."[400] He began by mentioning his anxiety over the lack of time in which to perform these ordinances.

> I would to God that this temple was now done that we might go into it & go to work & improve our time & make use of the seals while they are on the earth & [sic] the Saints have none to[o] much time to save & redeem their dead, & gather together their living relatives that they may be saved also before the earth will be smitten.[401]

But his concern was not just for a millennial but also for a personal apocalypse. He also voiced concern regarding the conditions in and about Nauvoo:

> My ownly trouble at the present time is concerning ourselves that the Saints will be divided & broken up & scattered before we get our Salvation Secure for thei[r] is so many fools in the world for the devil to operate upon it gives him the advantage often times.[402]

Joseph succinctly stated that Elijah's mission would only be fulfilled when the

> Saints . . . Come up as Saviors on mount Zion . . . by building thair temples erecting their Baptismal fonts & going forth & receiving all the ordinances, Baptisms, Confirmations, washings anointings ordinations & sealing powers upon our heads in behalf of all our Progenitors who are dead & redeem them that they may come forth in the first resurrection & be exhalted to thrones of glory with us, & here in is the chain that binds the hearts of the fathers to the children, & the Children to the Fathers which fulfills the mission of Elijah.[403]

The temple ordinances that specifically tie fathers and children are the ordinances of sealing of children to parents and adoption (the

former ordinance between bloodlines and the latter between non-bloodlines). These ordinances (otherwise identical) are corollary ordinances of the temple ordinance of marriage for time and eternity. That is, sealings of children to parents or adoptions are performed only if children are born before their parents have entered into eternal marriage covenants. All children born to parents after they are sealed are "born under the covenant." This "holy order" of parents and children back to Adam, built on the foundation of the covenants made in the endowment and eternal marriage, Joseph Smith called the Patriarchal Priesthood.[404] Joseph Smith did not consider that a person's position in the patriarchal order was eternally secure when that person had only received the ordinances of endowment, temple marriage, and, where necessary, the ordinances of sealing parents and children. (To be sure, only when these ordinances were performed did an individual secure a place within the patriarchal order.) However, only when an individual already within this chain received of the fulness of the priesthood ordinances would his or her place be eternally secured.[405] As the Prophet stated in August 1843, these ordinances were only "a measure [or portion] of [the] sealing [power of Elijah] . . . which when a father & mother of a family have entered into their children who have not transgressed are secured by the seal wherewith the Parents have been sealed."[406]

At a later time, Joseph Smith illustrated the relationships between these temple ordinances and lineal rights when he cited the case of David, king of Israel. Although David had received an anointing as

> a King he never did obtain the spirit & power of Elijah and the fulness of the Priesthood, & [because of his transgression] the priesthood that he received & the throne & kingdom of David is

to be taken from him & given to another by the name of David in the last days, raised up out of his lineage.[407]

Perhaps referring to this "David in the last days," to Brigham Young and others, Joseph Smith made predictions about a son yet to be born. "I shall have a son born to ~~him~~ [sic] me, and his name should shall be called David; and on him, in some future time, will rest the responsibility that now rests upon me."[408] David Hyrum Smith, the only child of Joseph and Emma born under the covenant, was born 17 November 1844, five months after Joseph was killed. In after years when Brigham Young lost hope that Joseph III would come West to assume leadership in the LDS Church he, on the basis of these statements of Joseph Smith, transferred his hopes to David Hyrum Smith.[409]

Perhaps Joseph saw a way in which his predictions regarding two sons were not mutually exclusive. Possibly there was room in Joseph Smith's world view for Joseph III to be successor to the presidency of the High Priesthood, while his son David was to be a leader in Israel. According to Joseph Smith, the important prophecy of Isaiah (2:2-5) is actually referring to two world capitals before the final apocalypse: one in Zion (which Joseph designated as upon "The American continent") and the other in Jerusalem. Isaiah's prophecy of the last days says that "out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Joseph Smith did not see this passage as another example of Hebraic poetic redundancy where Zion and Jerusalem were often equivalent figures of speech. He saw this as a passage referring to two different localities.[410] This and his conviction that the Second Coming of Christ would be no earlier than 1890 makes for a fascinating hypothesis.[411] Since he did not expect to live until 1890 and since he apparently hoped

that the Second Coming would be no later than this time, perhaps he wanted two sons to be heirs of these promises. If one son was to be the leader of the American Zion and the other son a leader in Jerusalem, Isaiah's prediction perhaps would come true: Ephraim, who would rule Zion, would no longer vex Judah; and Judah, who would rule Jerusalem, would no longer envy Ephraim.[412] If only divine and cataclysmic intervention could elect the Mormon minority to such positions of world leadership, Mormon faith was large enough to encompass such a vision. And while Joseph never expressed in binding prophecy that Christ would come at some specific time as other non-Mormon Millennialists did, nevertheless, the common knowledge of his hopes were so compelling that many in Utah as 1890 approached were readying themselves for the event. In any case Joseph Smith saw no contradiction between prophesying that two of his sons would assume high and presiding positions in the future kingdom. Neither did he see irreconcilable the implications of temple ordinances, lineal rights and a millennial world view.

Joseph Smith III's anointing blessing was not a ceremony sealing him to his parents. The ordinance of sealing requires the presence of the mother; however, Emma was not present for the blessing.[413] Moreover, the ordinance involves sacred aspects of the temple ordinances that persons (like George J. Adams) not members of the Quorum would not have been permitted to witness. In fact, there is no contemporary evidence that Joseph Smith ever administered the ordinance of sealing parents and children.[414] He apparently gave private instructions on how it was to be performed and, as shown before, he publicly discussed the doctrine. Appropriately, the Joseph Smith III blessing presumed that

such a seal between father and son would yet be consummated. And as before stated, the blessing assumed that Joseph Smith III in worthiness and by participation would receive all the temple ordinances introduced by his father and thus fully qualify as successor in the "Presidency of the High Priesthood."[415] It was perhaps on this occasion that Newel K. Whitney understood that should both Joseph and Hyrum Smith be taken Samuel H. Smith (who had been endowed one month before) would become President and be guardian until young Joseph came of age.[416] But as it turned out, due to events during this month of January 1844 and later, the Twelve Apostles would eventually become these "guardians."

Brigham Young Administers the Fulness of the Priesthood to the Remainder of the Twelve Apostles in Nauvoo

Three days following the blessing of Joseph Smith III, Joseph Smith authorized the second thing done in January 1844 that would be of greatest significance to the question of succession upon his death six months later. He authorized President Brigham Young to confer the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood upon the heads of the members of the Twelve and their wives who were then in Nauvoo. Three diaries document these important events: The Joseph Smith Diary, the Willard Richards Diary, and the Wilford Woodruff Diary. The first two mention only briefly the nature of the meetings. For example, a typical entry from the Joseph Smith Diary is the entry for 20 January 1844: "eve 6 Prayer meeting--H. C. Kimball & wife present--I [Joseph Smith] was at home."[417] A similarly typical entry from Richards comes from his diary for the same date (it is even more succinct than the entry in the Prophet's diary!): "Meeting eve. H. C. Kimball and wife."[418] However,

Wilford Woodruff was always more complete. He would first make a brief sketch of an olive tree (as he had done with all meetings of the Anointed Quorum since he became a member in December) and then provide the details of what occurred during the meeting. On 20 January 1844, Wilford Woodruff recorded that

>  in the evening I met with the quorum in the evening and had an interesting time H.C.K. V.K. received their second anointing &c.[419]

His entries are similar for the next week and a half during which other members of the Twelve received the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood.

> [21 January 1844]  I met with the quorum in the evening had an interestin time many good exhortation were given by the brethren concerning the things of God P.P.P. received his 2d Anointing. [Though Joseph was not present at this meeting the brethren discussed what] Joseph [had] said concerning Parley P. Pratt that he had no wife sealed to him for Eternity as He would want a wife in the Resurrection or els his glory would be cliped many arguments He used upon this subject which ware rational & consistent Br. Joseph said now what will we do with Elder P. P. Pratt He has no wife sealed to him for Eternity He has one living wife but she had a former Husband and did not wish to be sealed to Parly, for Eternity now is it not right for Parley to have another wife that can [The entry then abrupty ends here.][420]
>
> 25" [January 1844]  Met with the quorum of the Twelve at President Youngs house had a good prayer meeting OH Br Orson Hyde was present had not met with us for some time Orson Hyde received his 2nd Anointg.[421]
>
> 26" [January 1844]  I met with the Twelve this evening also at Br B. Youngs time was spent in exhortation mostly OP spoke & we were edefyed Elder O Pratt Received his 2d Anointg[422]

These last two meetings were held at Brigham Young's home, and attendees comprised only members of the Quorum of the Twelve. However, the next day was Saturday, a regular meeting day for the Quorum. Therefore, the day after Orson Pratt received these ordinances, the scene shifted once again back to the Prophet Joseph's store.

27" [January 1844]  The quorum met for a meeting in the evening at Joseph Store had a number of prayers & exhortations upon the subject of holiness of hart &c [WR] & [JR] Br & Sister Richards were present they had both been unwell for a number of days before but wer able to attend meetings this evening & seemed to enjoy themselves well; they had received blessings by the prayer of faith Willard & Janette Richards Received their 2d Anointing and sealing.[423]

Wilford Woodruff's entry for the next day when he and his wife received these ordinances is a bit more elaborate and subjective. Though in the early part of the day he and his wife, Phoebe, were nearly suffocated from breathing charcoal smoke, they were able to attend the meeting of the Quorum that Sunday evening.

JAN 28'' 1844

 I met with the quorum of the Twelve and others for instruction Mrs Woodruff and myself were both some unwell from the effects of the coal during the day yet we had an interesting time [WW & PWW] I Wilford Woodruff and Phobe W. Woodruff both recieved a benefit by Prayers and laying on of hands. The subject of Elijah's Coming to seal the hearts of the fathers to the children &c seal the hearts of the children to the Fathers Malachi IV Ch 6 vers was spoken of . . . Wilford & Phobe W Woodruff received our 2d Anointing & Sealings.[424]

30 [January 1844]  Met with the quorum at Elder Youngs for a meeting [J.T.] [L.T.] Br & Sister John Taylor was with us Br Taylor made some appropriate remarks unto edifycation J Taylor & Leonora Taylor Received their 2d Anointig & Sealig[425]

31 [January 1844] . . . I met with the quorum of Twelve this evening at Elder Youngs & had a good time [GAS] [BS] Br & Sister G A Smith was present and Received their 2d Anointig & sealing this evening they had been quite unwell.[426]

Thus in the twelve days between 20 and 31 January 1844, the eight other members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles then residing in Nauvoo received the fulness of the priesthood under the hands of their President, Brigham Young.[427] According to Brigham Young, Joseph said that when they were thus ordained kings and priests they received all that it was possible for a mortal to receive in this life.[428] At

the time of their anointings, these nine of the Twelve Apostles were the highest quorum of the Church (save Joseph of the First Presidency) to receive these blessings. In fact, they were the first and only quorum ever in the Church of Joseph's day, the majority of whom received these blessings. Moreover, they received these ordinances at a time when no member of the publicly acknowledged First Presidency (except Joseph Smith) was even a member of the Anointed Quorum. After the death of Joseph Smith no member of the First Presidency, whether publicly or privately appointed, had received these ordinances. All these facts combine to underscore the unassailable case they made after Joseph Smith's death that they were the only quorum of priesthood having the knowledge, authority and power to officiate in the highest ordinances of the Church that Joseph Smith deemed essential for the exaltation of both man and woman, living and dead.[429] To do otherwise would have meant that they slighted their sacred consecrations given them during these special days in January 1844. They were allegiant to the Kingdom of priests Joseph was beginning to establish.

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGDOM ESTABLISHED:

THE "LAST CHARGE"

Increasingly throughout the Nauvoo period, the Twelve Apostles were called upon by Joseph Smith to aid him in both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church. As shown in the last chapter, in January 1844 they were the only quorum of the Church the majority of which had received the highest spiritual blessings. Now they were to be asked to superintend some of the most important political activities designed to protect the Saints' Kingdom of God. For example, Joseph Smith asked them to supervise the organization and outfitting of western exploring parties in anticipation of possible future removal from Nauvoo. Additionally, the Twelve also had a prominent role in organizing Joseph Smith's campaign for the U.S. presidency. Then in March 1844, even when the Prophet decided to consolidate these efforts under the auspices of the Council of Fifty, the Twelve Apostles, nevertheless, played a conspicuous role. The seemingly automatic inclusion of the Twelve in this council underscored its position as the second most important council in the Church authority structure; after all, the Council of Fifty was not a meaningless body: theoretically, it was the "Kingdom of God"--the actual forum that would in time be the ruling body of the earth during the Millennium. But in practice, the 1844 Council of Fifty would augment the efforts of the Twelve to provide ways to

protect the interests of the Church. During one of the meetings of the "Kingdom," Joseph Smith, with great pathos, charged the Twelve with the responsibility of shouldering the burden of both the Church and "Kingdom of God" (the Council of Fifty) if in the near term he should die or need to go into exile. From such statements and the fact of their having received the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood, the Twelve would three months later infer their authority and responsibility to stand as the Presidency until they (as Joseph Smith charged them) could "appoint others in their stead." Because of the importance of such claims, this chapter will be devoted to details of the organization of the Council of Fifty as a backdrop for Joseph Smith's "Last Charge" to the Twelve Apostles.

Joseph Smith Candidacy for U.S. Presidency

A month before receiving the highest anointings the Twelve had vowed to assist the Prophet in his efforts to defend the Nauvoo Saints. On 29 January 1844, the Twelve, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene and Joseph met and while considering their choice of candidate for the coming presidential election, apostle Willard Richards moved "that we will have an independent electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next Presidency."[430] The Prophet, in accepting the nomination, discussed with those present the areas he wished to have covered in his platform statement entitled "Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States." He also outlined his campaign strategy. After the upcoming general conference of the Church in April, he would send out electioneering missionaries who would preach both the gospel of repentance and Republicanism.[431]

When his "Views" were completed, in his store on 8 February, he "met with a congregation of the citizens . . . for the purpose" of presenting his platform.[432] W. W. Phelps, who did most of the writing, read the "Views" to the congregation, and then Joseph spoke.

> I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on any wise as president of the United States or Candidate for that office If I & my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious & civel rights as American Citizen[s][433] . . [that] we as a people have been denied from the beginning.

Although the Prophet's platform had bold and advanced ideas, ideas that anticipated later constitutional and legal developments, the campaign was primarily a publicity effort to counter the Saints' nearby enemies.[434]

Western Movement of the Church Contemplated

Anxieties concerning another mob effort to expel the Saints from the state of Illinois just as had been accomplished by Missourians less than six years before weighed heavily on every mind. On 17 February 1844, the "anti-Mormons held a convention at Carthage . . . to divise ways and means of expelling the Saints from the State."[435] Three days later, according to his own diary, Joseph "instructed the 12 to send out a delegation & investigate the locations of California & men [sic] oregon & find a good location where we can remove after the Temple is completed."[436] And so he was not going to rely merely on the election campaign to defuse mob violence, but was planning another option for the Saints--a western movement of the Church before the Saints were forced out. The dominant factor to him in this timetable was the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. The following day "the Twelve met in [Joseph's] office & selected 8 men to fulfil the exploring expedition . . . and

they adjourned to meet at the assembly room [the] evening [of the] 23[rd]."[437] Two days later, Joseph again "met with the 12 &c in assembly Room concerning the Oregon Expedition." "I told them," the Prophet's diary records,

> I wanted an exposition of all that country-- Send 25 men. Let them preach the Gospel whereever they go.-- Let that man go that can raise $500. a horse or mule a double barrel gun--one rifle and one shot.- saddle bridle. Pr 8 bar Pistols. Bowie knife-- &c Appoint a leader Let him beat up for volunteers. I want every man that goes to be a King and priest [so] when he gets on the mountains he may want to talk with his God.--when with the savage nations have power to govern &c-- if we dont get volunteers wait till after the election.--[438]

During the next two days, Samuel Bent, Joseph A. Kelting, David Fullmer, James Emmett, Seth Palmer, Amos Fielding, Daniel Spencer, Samuel Rolfe, Daniel Avery, Samuel W. Richards, Charles Shumway, and John S. Fullmer volunteered for the expedition.[439] None of these men had received the endowment ordinances nor the higher ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood. But as Joseph Smith had authorized Brigham Young to anoint the other members of the Twelve kings and priests in late January 1844, and had also authorized President Young to so ordain others in early February,[440] Joseph Smith was authorizing the Twelve to confer these blesssings upon the members of the exploring party. So even in his defensive activities for the Church he could not help but infuse his higher vision into the effort to prepare for what must have seemed to be inevitable.

When the Anointed Quorum met the following Sunday evening, the western move of the Church and the campaign for the presidency was a matter for intense prayer. They "prayed that 'Gen Smiths views of the power & policy ~~of--the-U.S.-~~ [sic] United States, might be spread far & wide & be the means of oping [sic] the hearts of the people."[441] The

meeting was also one of solemn awe in the face of the power of God. Wilford Woodruff recorded that "in the evening I met with the quorum and had an interesting time. We had received correct information concerning the death of Joseph Duncan & Governor Reynold of Missouri He shot himself through the head they were two of the most inveterate enemies against the Latter Day Saints."[442] Earlier in February, Thomas Reynolds, sixth governor of Missouri (1840-1844), who had made several demands on the state of Illinois to extradite the Prophet to Missouri, committed suicide in his executive office. Two weeks later in public discourse Joseph Smith referred to the occasion for the Quorum discussing such a melancholy event.

> The Lord once told me that what I asked for I should have [see D&C 132:40 (40-49)] I have been afraid . . . to ask God to kill my enemies lest some of them should peradventure . . , repent. I asked a short time, since for the Lord to deliver me out of the hands of the Govornor of Missouri & if it must needs be to accomplish it to take him away, & the next news that Came pouring down from their [sic], was Governor Reynolds had shot himself, and I would now say beware O earth how you fight against the Saints of God & shed innocent Blood, for in the days of Elijah his enemies came upon him & fire was Called down from heaven & destroyed them.[443]

Notwithstanding the power they felt they had with the heavens due to the Elijah-type power conferred upon them when they received the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood, nevertheless, the plans to prepare for removal from Nauvoo were proceeding ahead. Woodruff concludes his records of the 25 February 1844 Quorum meeting by reporting that "President Joseph Smith Prophesyed that within five years we should be rid of our old enemies whether they were apostates or of the world & wished us to record it that when it comes to pass that we need not say we had forgotten the saying."[444]

In fact, a week later at a meeting of the First Presidency, the Twelve Apostles, the Temple Committee and others, Joseph Smith announced that under the circumstances "he did not know but it was best to let the Nauvoo house be till the temple is completed. [W]e need the temple more than anything Else. . . . we will let the Nauvoo house stand till the temple is done and we will put all our forces on the temple--turn all our lumber towards the temple."[445] The lumber was coming from the "Pinery expedition" located at the Black River Falls near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin Territory. Since 1842, the men in the "Pinery" had been cutting wood for the Nauvoo Temple and Nauvoo House and sending the lumber down the Mississippi to their fellow Mormon workers in Nauvoo.[446] But "Pinery" men too felt that Nauvoo should be abandoned for a more suitable location for the Saints. Apostle Lyman Wight and Bishop George Miller, leaders of the group, decided to write their brethren in Nauvoo, to offer this advice. Coincidentally, these men, though they were hundreds of miles from Nauvoo, wrote their letters at the same time the Prophet was having the Twelve Apostles organize parties to explore the West.[447] When George Miller arrived in Nauvoo on 8 March 1844, four days after Joseph's announcement to concentrate the work effort on the Nauvoo Temple,[448] Joseph's response to the letters was one of delight. "Brother Miller," the Prophet said, "I perceive the Spirit of God is in the pineries as well as here."[449] Now Joseph felt the time had come to take the final step to complete the Restoration by organizing the "Kingdom of God." "[W]e will call together some of our wise men and proceed

to set up the kingdom of God by organizing some of its officers," he said to Bishop Miller.[450]

"The Kingdom of God," the government Joseph Smith said would replace the imperfect governments of man during the Millennium, was first organized on 11 March 1844, three days after George Miller arrived in Nauvoo. And just as the Anointed Quorum had myriad doctrinal and revelatory precedents for its organization in 1842, so, too, the 1844 organization of the "Kingdom of God" was also the coalescing of its scattered and undeveloped themes fostered within the Church priesthood structure.[451] For example, Joseph Smith's "translation" of Revelation 12 in the New Testament shows that he distinguished between the terms "church" and "kingdom" as early as 1833. He made such a distinction when he amplified the meaning of John the Revelator's metaphorical language as follows:

> And there appeared a great sign in heaven, in the likeness of things on the earth; a woman . . . being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; . . . the woman . . . was the church of God, who had been delivered of her pains, and [she] brought forth the kingdom of our God and his Christ.[452]

Consistent with this distinction, Joseph Smith organized the "Kingdom" as an adjunct to the priesthood organization of the Church. Although it was not as such an organization of the Church, its "birth" and maturation were expected to come from and be influenced by the highest authority of the priesthood. The inclusion of high-minded men not members of the LDS Church in this political body was, however, to make clear its inclusive world-reaching aims independent of the Church itself.[453]

Nevertheless, since it was the "Kingdom of God," its name, constitution, and parliamentary rules of order were given by revelation. For example, the revealed title for this organization was given on 7 April 1842, only one month before the Anointed Quorum was organized.[454] The revelation read: "Verily thus saith the Lord, This is the name by which you shall be called, The Kingdom of God and His Laws, with the Keys and power thereof, and judgment in the hands of His servants, Ahman Christ."[455] During the two-year period between the 1842 revelation authorizing the creation of such a body and the formation of this Council in 1844, Joseph Smith introduced the ordinances whereby men were ordained on earth kings and priests. This apparently was not coincidental. A month before introducing the fulness of the priesthood ordinances, the Prophet taught that only through such ordination would men have the ultimate, legitimate power of government.[456] Between 28 September 1843, when he first administered these ordinances, and 26 February 1844, only two weeks before the organization of the "Kingdom," Joseph Smith conferred such ordinations on the twenty men who received these blessings during his life.[457] With only one exception all of these men became members of the "Kingdom" during the Prophet's lifetime. Moreover, of the nine other men in the Quorum who had thus far received the endowment ordinances, seven also became members of the "Kingdom." One notable exception was Samuel H. Smith.[458]

With the conferral of these ordinances the fundamental source of legitimacy for the "Kingdom of God" had been established. In Joseph Smith's world view, governments which had apostatized from that dominion the Lord originally gave to Adam had usurped authority and abused or lost their priesthood. Hence, through the ages, unless authorized by

the anointed servants of God, worldly kings anointed by priests devoid of true priesthood power ultimately lacked legitimate right to reign; God suffered that these things should exist, but in the Millennium only the Lord's "Kingdom" would reign. As Joseph put it three months after receiving the authorizing revelation, "The world has had a fair trial for six thousand years; the Lord will try the seventh thousand Himself."[459]

From 11 March until 18 April 1844 there were ten days when the "Kingdom" met. At the first meeting twenty-three members were initiated. Initiations continued in various of the meetings until on 18 April there were fifty members. When the Prophet declared, "Now we have the number which the Lord requires," the Council was thus given its alternate, more familiar yet official title, "the Council of Fifty."[460]

At this same meeting Joseph Smith said that he had gone before the Lord and had received the constitution for the "Kingdom of God" by direct revelation. He then gave the text of the revelation as follows: "Ye are my Constitution and I am your God and ye are my spokesmen, therefore from henceforth keep my commandments."[461] The brevity of this constitution did not mean that the Council of Fifty operated in loose or chaotic fashion. The Council was guided by certain parliamentary procedures that were also finalized in this 18 April 1844 meeting. Since the constitution of the "Kingdom of God" was essentially an "unwritten constitution," the following parliamentary procedures consequently took on constitutional status.

The Rules of the Kingdom

1. The Council is convened and organized by the President of the Church subject to the rules of the Kingdom of God. He is elected standing chairman upon convening of the Council.

seems that in most instances there should be prior discussion, at least if the president is perfected, and maybe even there after.

2. Members of the Council sit according to age, except the chairman.

3. According to the order of voting in the Council, a recorder and a clerk of the Kingdom are elected. The clerk takes the minutes of the meeting and the recorder enters the approved minutes into the official records of the Kingdom. They are voting members though they do not occupy a seat in the circle.

4. All motions are presented to the Council by or through the standing chairman. All motions must be submitted in writing.

5. To pass, a motion must be unanimous in the affirmative. Voting is done after the ancient order: each person voting in turn from the oldest to the youngest member of the Council, commencing with the standing chairman. If any Council member has any objections he is under covenant to fully and freely make them known to the Council. But if he cannot be convinced of the rightness of the course pursued by the Council he must either yield or withdraw membership in the Council. Thus a man will lose his place in the Council if he refuses to act in accordance with righteous principles in the deliberations of the Council. After action is taken and a motion accepted, no fault will be found or change sought for in regard to the motion. (But can the pres. make a new motion which alters the first?) I think yes.

6. Before a man can be accepted as a member of the Council his name must be presented to the members and voted upon unanimously in the affirmative. When invited into the Council he must covenant by uplifted hand to maintain all things of the Council inviolate agreeable to the order of the Council. Before he accepts his seat he must also agree to accept the name, constitution, and rules of order and conduct of the Council.

7. No member is to be absent from any meeting unless sick or on Council business. If this were not the case, rule five could be invoked to invalidate any action of the Council.

8. A member can be assigned to only one committee of the Council at a time.

9. Adjournment and specific date of reconvening the Council are determined by vote. The Council may be called together sooner at the discretion of the chairman. If the Council adjourns without a specific meeting date (sine die), it next meets only at the call of the standing chairman (or new President of the Church, if applicable).[462] (or under direction of 12 as page 162)

Naturally rule number five was the heart, the soul, the beauty of the "Kingdom of God." To Joseph Smith it was the answer to the inevitable

It would seem that the council only needs to be reconvened** in order to start functioning again. Assuming prior members are dead it would seem that you would start with the twelve apostles (if they are kings and priests? and other kings & priests?) and go from there.

clash between minority and majority rights. It was the guarantee of freedom of speech and the right of peaceful dissent in Council meetings. If the true spirit of the constitution were followed, the Council would be the "spokesmen of God" in their political deliberations.[463]

Defensive Efforts Assigned to the Council of Fifty

Constitutional considerations aside, Joseph Smith had immediate practical purposes for this 1844 organization. The creation of the "Kingdom" in secrecy signaled to its members that it was only in embryo and would not soon assume its world governing stature. In fact, its strictly private nature assured that though there were three members of this Council not members of the LDS Church, this body of men was designed in this early stage to be a transparent forum for the conduct of the chief political concerns of the Church. Consequently, when the Prophet organized the "Kingdom," he assigned to this group the management of the three most important political projects in which the Church was already engaged: First, the exploring expeditions of the West and the Southwest; second, Joseph Smith's campaign for the presidency of the United States; and, third, the appeals to the Federal government for redress of grievances resulting from the Missouri expulsion of the Church.[464]

Within these parameters Joseph Smith had much for the Council of Fifty to accomplish. Committees of the Council were charged with various tasks. One group of three was in charge of feeling out Governor Sam Houston on the possibility of a Mormon immigration to the Republic of Texas. Another group was responsible for writing Solomon Copeland to invite him to be Joseph Smith's vice-presidential running mate. Another

committee drafted memorials to both the president and the Congress to petition the government to grant Joseph Smith authority to organize patrols of the West. And still another committee was responsible for organizing the massive campaign effort involving hundreds of missionaries who would be leaving in mid-April for electioneering throughout the twenty-six United States.[465]

Not only were committee assignments given to members of the Council, but various members were sent on missions for the Council of Fifty. Amos Fielding was sent to England, Lucien Woodworth was called to go to Texas to sound out the Texas "cabinet" on the possibility of Mormon immigration, and George J. Adams's "Russian Mission" was renewed.[466]

Joseph Smith's "Last Charge"

In the midst of this period of intense activity, on 23 March 1844, Joseph Smith was informed by two nonmembers of the Church, Dr. Abiathar Williams and Marenus G. Eaton, that "Wm. Law, Wilson Law, R. D. Foster, Chauncey L. Higbee, and Joseph H. Jackson had held a caucus, designing to destroy all the Smith family in a few weeks."[467] Eaton, who was either a member or about to become a member of the Council of Fifty, told Joseph that he talked with Foster, Jackson, and Higbee only a few days before and found them greatly agitated over the "spiritual wife system." He had heard Jackson say that "the Laws were ready to enter into a secret conspiracy, tooth and nails." But Foster was apparently the most infuriated. Foster asked if Eaton would like it if a man came to his home who, in his absence, preached spiritual wifism, seduced his wife, and put such fear in her that he found when he came

home and questioned her that she would not reveal the other man's immoral advances until after putting her at gunpoint? Foster told Eaton that he had been "thus abused."[468]

After Joseph was told of Foster's insinuation, he spent the day in obtaining counterstatements. Joseph went with Alexander Neibaur, his German teacher, and William Clayton to see Foster's wife, who was visiting at a Mr. Gilman's home. Mrs. Gilman, a nonmember of the Church, was present during the entire interview while

> Prest. J[oseph Smith]. asked sister Foster if she ever in her life knew him guilty of an immoral or indecent act. She answered no He then explained his reasons for asking and then asked if ever he had used any indecent or insulting language to her, she answered, never. He further asked if he ever preached any thing like the spiritual wife doctrine to her only what he had preached in public. She said no! He asked her if he ever proposed to have illicit intercourse with her and expecially when he took dinner during the Doctors absence. She said no.[469]

Joseph had obtained the testimony he wanted from a person not under duress. Joseph believed that Foster was lying even about his own wife.

Apparently the Prophet believed Eaton's report that William Law was also involved in this conspiracy. Since the Prophet and William Law had not spoken since Joseph informed William in January that he was dropped from the Quorum, Joseph sent Hyrum to visit William to sue for peace. Law was obstinate and demanded "an investigation before the Conference . . . [where he] promised [he] would bring their abominations to light."[470]

Consequently, Joseph decided to refer to the conspiracy in public. The next day, 24 March 1844, before a Sunday gathering of the Saints, he said, "I have been informed by two gentlemen that a conspiracy is got up in this place for the purpose of taking [my] life."[471] Boldly in the face of reported threats, Joseph continued,

"I wont swear out a warrent against them for I dont fear any of them . . [though] Jackson said [that] a Smith should not be alive 2 weeks not over two months any how."[472] Then he concluded this, his first public discourse since organizing the "Kingdom of God," by saying, "I am as the voice of one Crying in the wilderness [saying] repent of your sins & prepare the way for the Coming of the Son of Man, for the Kingdom of God has Come unto you and henceforth the ax is laid unto the root of the tree and evry tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, God Almighty (and not Jo Smith) shall hew down & cast it into the fire."[473]

The Anointed Quorum, during the meeting the Sunday previous, had adjourned with the expectation of meeting that evening but there is no record that a meeting was held. However, when the Council of Fifty met two days later, Tuesday, 26 March 1844, the weariness of yet another threat on his life prompted the Prophet to make the most important of all announcements. In D. Michael Quinn's words, what he said on this occasion became in after years "the shibboleth of succession."[474] An analysis of more than one hundred sources showed that on this date Joseph Smith gave his so-called "Last Charge"--a charge by which the Twelve Apostles inferred their right to leadership of both the "Church" and the "Kingdom of God" when three months later the Prophet was dead.

Owing to the privacy of Council of Fifty proceedings, it should not be surprising that in all the accounts of the Last Charge, only three specifically state that the Charge was given in a meeting of the Council of Fifty. In no account, however, is the possibility excluded, and in several other accounts the possibility is implied. Assuming the morning meeting of the Council was occupied with the deliberations regarding a Memorial to Congress, the three-hour meeting beginning at

2 p.m. seems, with the news of new threats on his life, an appropriate time for the Prophet to tell the Council of Fifty what should happen in his absence.[475] The most explicit and succinct statements come from Benjamin F. Johnson. In his manuscript autobiography entitled "My Life's Review" he states that

> At one of the last meetings of the Council of Fifty after all had been completed and the keys of power committed and in the presence of the Quorum of the Twelve and others who were encircled around him, he arose, gave a review of his life and sufferings, and of the testimonies he had borne, and said that the Lord had now accepted his labors and sacrifices, and did not require him longer to carry the responsibilities and burden and bearing of this kingdom. Turning to those around him, including the Twelve, he said, "and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ I now place it upon my brethren of this council, and I shake my skirts clear of all responsibility from this time forth."[476]

Johnson, in a famous letter to George F. Gibbs, explained that the "keys of power committed" to the Twelve consisted of "Keys of Endowments to the Last Anointing & Sealing[,] Together with keys of Salvation for the Dead. with the eternity of the Marriage Covenent and the Powr of Endless Lives."[477] In other words, the Last Charge was founded upon the fact that the Prophet had administered to the Twelve Apostles all the ordinances of the temple (including the fulness of the priesthood ordinances). And Johnson, in another recollection of the Charge, was more specific as to its nature. In this account he described the Council in which this Charge was given in enough detail that the "Rules of the Kingdom" (particularly rules 2, 5, 6, and 7) are clearly implicit. He said the Council was "A Council or Select Circle of the Prophets most trusted Friends . . . Which at times would exceed Fifty in number.--Its Sittings ware always Strictly Private. and all its Rules ware carefully & promptly observed. and altho its meetings at times

are oftener than monthly. and my home at Ramus over 20 miles distant -- I was present at every Session and being about the youngest member of that Council I was deeply impressed with all that transpired. & was Taught by the Prophet."[478] Johnson remembered that not all the "constituted authorities" of the Church were "members of that Council," and specifically named William Law, William Marks and Sidney Rigdon as not being council members.[479] While correct about Law, he apparently forgot that both Rigdon and Marks became members beginning 19 March. (Perhaps Johnson was remembering that Rigdon and Marks were not present for the 26 March meeting. This, however, cannot be verified from available documentation.) Johnson continued this second account by saying that when Joseph

> Stood before that association of his Select Friends including all the Twelve and with great Feeling & Animation he graphically Reviewed his Life of Persicution Labor & Sacrafise For the church & Kingdom of God -- Both of Which he diclared were now organized upon the earth. The burden of which had become too great for him longer to carry. That he was weary & Tired with the weight he So long had bourn and he then Said with great Vehimence "And in the name of ϕf the Lord I now Shake from my Shoulders the Responsibilaties of bearing off the Kingdom of God to all the world -- and here & now I place that Responsibility with all the Keys Powrs & privilege pertaining there too upon the Shoulders of you the Twelve Apostles in Connection with this Council. And if you will accept this to do it God Shall bless you mightily and Shall open your way and if you do it not you will be Damned -- I am henceforth free from this Responsabilaty and I now Shake my garments clean & Free from the Blood of this generation and of all men -- and Shaking his Shirt with great vehemints he Raised himself from the floor while the Spirit that acompanied his word Thrilled every heart as with a feeling that Boded bereavement & Sorrow.[480]

Johnson added that the Prophet "[a]t this same meeting . . . related a dream of a night or two previous." In his dream, "[Joseph] thought the Laws, the Higbies [sic], Fosters and others had bound him and cast him into a deep well," and when these men asked for help the Prophet was powerless to help them.[481] Undoubtedly, the dream was a consequence of

Dr. Abiathar and Mr. Eaton's information regarding an alleged conspiracy. It is clear in Johnson's recollections that the Prophet was sensing at this time a new level of personal anxiety regarding his own life.

Many remembered Joseph's being equivocal on his personal forebodings. According to Orson Hyde, Joseph said, "Brethren, . . . [s]ome important Scene is near to take place. It may be that my enemies will kill me, and in case they should, and the Keys and power which rest on me not be imparted to you, they will be lost from the Earth."[482] Despite these references by the Prophet to the possibility of imminent death, his next words--the words of the Charge--were more ambiguous about this possibility. "I roll the burthen and responsibility of leading this Church [this "Kingdom" in Johnson; this "Church and Kingdom" in most accounts] off my shoulders on to yours. Now round up your shoulders and stand under it like men; for the Lord is going to let me rest ~~an~~ a while."[483] Orson Hyde believed that no one present realized that Joseph Smith was going to die soon.

> We did not consider, at the time he bore this testimony, that he was going to die or be taken from us; but we considered that as he had been borne down with excessive labors, by day and night, he was going to retire to rest and regain his health, and we should act under his direction and bear the responsibility of the work. But when the fatal news came to us, in the Eastern States, that he, with his brother Hyrum, had been massacred in Carthage jail, I will tell you it brought his words home to our minds, and we could then realize that he had spoken in sober earnest.[484]

Wilford Woodruff often referred to their lack of insight as similar to Jesus' apostles shortly before the Crucifixion.

> He told us that he was going away to leave us, going away to rest. Said he, "You have to round up your shoulders to bear up the kingdom. No matter what becomes of me. I have desired to see that Temple built, but I shall not live to see it. You

will; you are called upon to bear off this kingdom." This language was plain enough, but we did not understand it any more than the disciples of Jesus when he told them he was going away, and that if he went not the Comforter would not come.[485]

We may never know precisely what Joseph Smith said on this occasion. However, even if he clearly implied that he would soon be dead, it is certain no one inferred from his comments that this was so. And, more importantly, any consideration of the application of this "Last Charge" as the key to the succession question must take into account that it was a deduction on the part of the Twelve Apostles that they had the right to lead. The full meaning of this meeting at first escaped all those who attended it and only after the Martyrdom was it appreciated.

Previous "Last Charge"-Type Occasions

To be sure, Joseph Smith had often before spoken in the shadow of death. In July of 1834, he said to a council of High Priests in Missouri that "if he should now be taken away that he had accomplished the great work which the Lord had laid before him, and that which he had desired of the Lord, and that he now had done his duty in organizing the High Council, through which Council the will of the Lord might be known on all important occasions in the building up of Zion, and establishing truth in the earth."[486] Yet in November 1835, a year later, on the occasion of speaking to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and outlining the nature of the Kirtland Temple endowment ordinances for the first time, he remarked, "I supposed I had established this Church on a permanent foundation when I went to Missouri, and indeed I did so, for if I had been taken away, it would have been enough, but I yet live, and therefore God requires more at my hands."[487] As in this case, when he achieved one plateau in his ministry, he reconciled himself to the

possibility of death. But each plateau brought time for meditation, prayer and revelation, and new plateaus came into view.

The Kirtland Temple endowment was yet another dramatic climax in the Prophet's ministry. In this same November 1835 meeting with the Quorum of the Twelve, Joseph Smith said:

> There is one great deficiency or obstruction in the way that deprives us of the greater blessings; and in order to make the foundation of this Church complete and permanent, we must remove this obstruction, which is, to attend to certain duties that we have not as yet attended to . . . [namely,] the ordinance of washing of feet. This we have not done yet, but it is necessary now, . . . and we must have a place prepared, that we may attend to this ordinance aside from the world. . . . The house of the Lord must be prepared, and the solemn assembly called and organized in it, according to the order of the house of God; and in it we must attend to the ordinance of washing of feet. It was never intended for any but official members. It is calculated to unite our hearts, that we may be one in feeling and sentiment, and that our faith may be strong, so that Satan cannot overthrow us, nor have any power over us here.[488]

To these apostles, Joseph Smith further said of the relationship of the ordinances and the outpouring of the Spirit of God that "the endowment you are so anxious about, you cannot comprehend now, nor could Gabriel explain it to the understanding of your dark minds; but strive to be prepared in your hearts, be faithful in all things, that when we meet in the solemn assembly . . . we must be clean every whit [to receive the washing of feet ordinance (Cf. D&C 88:138-39)]."[489] The Prophet then made a statement with which any further development of temple ordinances would have to be consistent. "The order of the house of God has been, and ever will be, the same."[490]

Two months later, on 21 January 1836, the Prophet for the first time administered an ordinance of the temple. On this occasion he introduced the first ordinance of the endowment: the washing of the body with water and perfumed alcohol.[491] That evening the ordinance of

anointing was first introduced.[492] After the anointings, Joseph Smith received a vision. This vision, given on this sacred occasion, was also the occasion of Joseph Smith's first inkling of the doctrine of salvation for the dead.[493] In the ensuing two months, Joseph Smith attended to the ordinance of sealing of anointing, and, finally, the capstone ordinance, the washing of the feet.[494] Upon performing this last ordinance--the only ordinance performed in the solemn assembly after the dedication of the Temple--Joseph Smith again gave a "last charge"-type statement. His own diary entry for 30 March 1836 records,

> I then observed to the quorums that I had now completed the organization of the Church and we had passed through all the necessary ceremonies, that I had given them all the instruction they needed and that they now were at liberty after obtaining their licenses to go forth and build up the Kingdom of God, and that it was expedient for me and the Presidency to retire having spent the night previously in waiting upon the Lord in His temple.[495]

Joseph Smith had now introduced every priesthood office of the public ministry: deacon, teacher, priest, bishop, elder, seventy, high priest, apostle, and president of the High Priesthood. Moreover, he had (as he understood the temple ordinances at this time) given the ordinances of washing, anointing, sealing, and washing of feet. But as his ministry continued, he perceived he had further work to do--a further work that would not contradict the order of ordinances already introduced (See Table 4).

As shown before, in Nauvoo, Joseph comprehended the entire scope of his considerable expansion of the Kirtland Temple ordinances even before he began to administer the full endowment for the first time in May 1842. Six days before administering these ordinances, he told the Relief Society that he was about to administer certain ordinances

TABLE 4

THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE ENDOWMENT COMPARED WITH
THE NAUVOO PERIOD TEMPLE ORDINANCES

"The order of the house of God
has been, and ever will be, the same."
--Joseph Smith

Those ordinances administered or taught in both Temples are not italicized. Those ordinances either formalized in or unique to the Nauvoo Temple period are italicized. Note that the Nauvoo Temple ordinances perfectly fit within the essential framework of ordinances revealed during the Kirtland period (ordinances labeled 1, 3, 4, and 10). Although they do represent a considerable amplification of the Kirtland ordinances, the Nauvoo ordinances do not, however, change the order of the ordinances first administered in Kirtland.

ENDOWMENT ORDINANCES

1. Washing of the body with water and perfumed alcohol (set wording)
2. Sealing the Washing
3. Anointing the body with oil
4. Sealing the Anointing (set wording)
5. Aaronic Portion of the Endowment
6. Melchizedek Portion of the Endowment

ETERNAL MARRIAGE ORDINANCES

7. Marriage for Time/Eternity

FULNESS OF THE PRIESTHOOD ORDINANCES

8. Anointing with Oil
9. Sealing the Anointing
10. Washing of Feet

LEVITICAL ORDER

PATRIARCHAL ORDER

FULNESS OF THE PRIESTHOOD

Source: This listing is based on The History of the Church, 2:379-82, 391-92, 429, and 432; 5:1-2; 7:541-42, 547, 552-53, 562, 566, and 576.

because he had feelings he would not "long be with the Church."[496] In August, when he spoke again to the Relief Society, he explained that his period of hiding from his enemies fulfilled his April 1842 premonitions of not being "long with the Church."[497] To a large assembly of the sisters in the Grove, Joseph Smith, after thanking them for their aid in his behalf while in hiding, observed, "Do you not see that I foresaw what was coming beforehand? by the spirit of prophecy?—all had an influence in my redemption from the hand of my enemies. . . . By seeing the blessings of the endowment rolling on and the kingdom increasing and spreading from Sea to sea, we will rejoice that we were not overcome by these foolish things."[498] Now, his life spared again he had more to reveal to the Saints. He "remark'd that a few things had been manifested to him in his absence respecting the baptism for the dead, which he should communicate next Sabbath if nothing should occur to prevent."[499] In fact, according to a source as yet unidentified, he said,

> My feelings at the present time are that, inasmuch as the Lord Almighty has preserved me until today, He will continue to preserve me, by the united faith and prayers of the Saints, until I have fully accomplished my mission in this life, and so firmly established the dispensation of the fullness of the priesthood in the last days, that all the powers of earth and hell can never prevail against it.[500]

If these italicized words are an amplification of the incomplete synopsis in the Relief Society minutes, the expansion of the text is in complete harmony with Joseph's style and thinking, and it represents accurately what he achieved in the less than two years left before his death.

Given the devotion of his brethren, their refusal to accept the possibility of his imminent departure, should not necessarily be

attributed to callous insensitivity. Perhaps since the major impetus for the Last Charge--the report of an alleged conspiracy against the whole Smith family--was so soon shown to be the intentional misinformation of Joseph H. Jackson,[501] members of the Council of Fifty decided the magnificence of their mission would not now be so interrupted that their Prophet, Priest and King, Joseph Smith, would long stand as their leader under Christ.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROAD TO CARTHAGE

Throughout the three months before his death, Joseph Smith faced and answered William Law's charges that he was a fallen prophet. One of the most dramatic of occasions for his personal reaffirmation of his prophetic calling came shortly after the "Last Charge" meeting when the general conference of the Church convened in Nauvoo in April of 1844. Nonetheless, Law continued his efforts against Joseph Smith until his publication in the Nauvoo Expositor of Joseph's practice of plural marriage precipitated the immediate causes of the conspiracy at Carthage. But even with Joseph's martyrdom, the Quorum and its concepts became a memorial of the Prophet's mission.

Joseph Smith Answers the Charge of Being a "Fallen Prophet"

At the Fourteenth Annual General Conference of the Church Joseph Smith challenged the charges made by William Law and others that he was a fallen prophet.

> The great Jehovah has ever been with me, and the wisdom of God will direct me in the seventh hour; I feel in closer communion, and better standing with God than ever I felt before in my life,[502] and I am glad of this opportunity to appear in your midst.

Then, according to Wilford Woodruff, he said "he was not a fallen prophet, . . . & would show before the Conferen[ce] closed that God was with him."[503] True to his word, he did not disappoint his most devoted

followers. His celebrated "King Follett" sermon, delivered the afternoon of the next day to the largest congregation Nauvoo had ever seen, was convincing fulfillment of his promise.[504] Summarizing the challenge from apostates and the Prophet's response at this time, Joseph Fielding, a member of the Anointed Quorum and the Council of Fifty, recorded in his journal that the apostates

> object to [the] Doctrine of a Plurality of Wives and of Gods . . . their Principle Charge against Joseph is that he has and seeks to obtain other Women or Wives and has taught the same to others who have done the same. . . . I often preach to my Wife and endeavor to inspire her with Faith[;] her Mind has been troubled at . . . the Subject of Spiritual Wives . . . but I see nothing in all that is going on that troubles me at all; but the Way in which Subjects for the celestial Kingdom are selected is not understood, or not considered I do not boast, but I am thankful for the Ideas which God has given me on this Subject, and long to teach the same to others. . . . As to me I have evidence enough that Joseph is not fallen, I have seen him after giving . . . the origin of Masonry [the temple endowment], organize the Kingdom of God on the Earth [the Council of Fifty] and am myself a Member of it in this I feel myself highly honored but I feel grieved that at this time of the greatest Light and the greatest Glory and Honor, Men of so much Knowledge and Understanding, should cut themselves off April 6th--44 Our anual Conference bigan and continued 4 Days Joseph,s Discourse on the Origin of Man, the Nature of God and the Resurrection was the most interesting Matter of this time and any one that could not see in him the Spirit of Inspiration of God must be dark, they might have known that he was not a fallen Prophet even if they thought he was fallen.[505]

With the discovery that the Laws were not engaged in a conspiracy against the Smith family, Joseph and Hyrum were very conciliatory to the Laws during the conference. In fact, Hyrum retracted what Joseph said two weeks before. Speaking specifically of William Law, Hyrum Smith said,

> If you hear of any one in high authority, that he is rather inclined to apostasy, don't let prejudice arise, but pray for him. God may feel after him, and he may return. Never speak reproachfully nor disrespectfully; he is in the hands of God.[506]

Moreover, Hyrum went so far as to say:

> [T]here has been a great deal of bickering abt. the Messrs Laws Steam Mill - it has been a great benefit to this City - it has advanced the benefit of the City - it has brought in thousands who would not have come here but as they saw that the Mormons had no horns they have got a good by it - the Messrs. Laws have done a great deal of good c when we can see any thing in the conspiracy it was ~~presumed that~~ the rascal Jackson who presumed upon them. c I do not believe that the Messrs. Laws would do any thing against me. it was the rascal Jackson who did it - he did it c I wod. not believe Jackson if he was to swear on a Stack of Bibles as big as Mount Etna - oppression never drove the devil from the heart of any man.[507]

The conference was dramatically quiet regarding William and Wilson Law. Such was the course Joseph and Hyrum took in their attempt to bring William Law back into the fold.

Excommunication of and Open Opposition By William Law

However, William Law was not so impressed. Though he was sick and could not hear the Prophet's "King Follett" sermon in person, he was nevertheless appalled by reports he heard. "Conference is over," he wrote the week after,

> and some of the most blasphemous doctrines have been taught by J. Smith & others ever heard of. Such as a plurality of Gods, other gods as far above our God as he is above us. That he wrought out his salvation in the flesh with fear and trembling, the same as we do; that J. Smith is a god to this generation, that secret meetings are all legal and right and that the Kingdom must be set up after the manner of a Kingdom (and of course have a King) &c. &c.[508]

In short, the conference only confirmed Law's view that Joseph was a fallen prophet.

Shortly after the conference was over, Joseph Smith sent Almon W. Babbitt, a member of the Council of Fifty, to attempt a reconciliation. Babbitt was rebuffed by Law, however. "I told Mr. Babbitt . . . that if J. Smith wanted reconciliation with me he must make public acknowledgement and cease from his abominations &c."[509] Joseph and

Hyrum's efforts had failed and Law remained as bitter as ever. Consequently, on 18 April 1844, a half-hour after a full day of Council of Fifty meetings, Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve presided over a council of thirty-two men (with the Prophet absent) while William, Jane, and Wilson Law, and Robert Foster were excommunicated from the Church.[510]

Three days later Law began to gather dissenters around him in Sunday meetings, and ten days later, he and others formed a new church.[511] The announced scriptures of Law's "Reformed Church" were the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the earlier published revelations of Joseph Smith.[512] They held meetings, however, to warn the people of Nauvoo of the extent and influence of the practices based on Joseph's unpublicized revelations regarding plural marriage, the Council of Fifty, the Anointed Quorum and other related doctrines.[513] For example, Joseph Fielding records that the "Reformed Church's" approach to countering plural marriage was to quote "a Passage in the Book of Mormon . . . in opposition to this Doctrine where it is said that a Man should have but one Wife and no Concubines."[514] Law's opposition church would accept no plan for reconciliation except that Joseph publicly acknowledge and repudiate these secret teachings of Nauvoo. This was something, however, Joseph believed he could never do. Two weeks later, on 12 May 1844, "Joseph spoke on the Gospel of the Kingdom and shewd that when God set up his Kingdom on the Earth [in this case, the Council of Fifty] Satan always set up his in Opposition"; this was an allusion, as Joseph Fielding believed, directly to Law's church.[515] No longer could the confrontation between Joseph Smith and William Law be camouflaged.

Yet the day after his "Gospel of the Kingdom" discourse, Joseph still sought private conciliation.[516] Sidney Rigdon was sent to ask Law again if he would accept peace. Law told Sidney

> that if they wanted peace they could have it on the following conditions, That Joseph Smith would acknowledge publicly that he had taught and practised the doctrine of the plurality of wives, that he brought a revelation supporting the doctrine, and that he should own the whole system (revelation and all) to be from Hell; to acknowledge also that ~~he had lately endeavored to seduce my wife, and had found her a virtuous woman, and that~~[517] persecution against me and my friends was unjust; if Smith and his followers will entirely cease from their abominations and fully undecieve the people as to these things, then I would agree to cease hostilities, otherwise we would publish all to the world.[518]

Sidney Ridgon told William that he did not have the authority to go that far.[519]

Sidney Rigdon's Membership in the Council of Fifty and the Quorum

Sidney Rigdon's appearance at Law's doorstep on 13 May 1844 may have been quite surprising to William. He knew that Joseph had taken steps to replace Rigdon as a counselor in the First Presidency, even to the point of anointing Amasa Lyman as a counselor during a meeting of the Quorum before Sidney's case had been dealt with by the general conference of October 1843. But Law was not a part of the organization of the Council of Fifty. Sidney Rigdon had become a member of the Council of Fifty on 19 March 1844 and was an enthusiastic initiate.[520] Fellow member of the Council of Fifty, Jedediah M. Grant, graphically described Sidney's reaction to the organization of the "Kingdom."

> Elder Rigdon . . . went, and after listening to the instructions and viewing the order of the council, and the manifestations of the power of God through Elder J[oseph]. Smith, he leaped for joy, and walked the room as sprightly as a boy in his gayest frolics. Exclaiming, "Joseph! Joseph! Thou servant of the most High God, I will never leave nor forsake thee, for mine eyes now

> see what Kings and Prophets desired to see and hear. But they fell asleep to rest in hope of what mine ears hear and mine eyes see. Brother Joseph you have tried to shake me off for several years, but you cannot do it, I will hold on to the skirts of your garment, I am now determined never to let you go."[521]

Orson Hyde, in fact, described Sidney's exuberance before the Council of Fifty as excessive.

> Mr. Rigdon there received an explanation of many important matters connected with the kingdom of God: after which, he began to speak, then to shout, then to dance, and threw his feet so high that he lost his balance, and came well nigh falling over backwards upon the stove. His language was something like the following:--"Glory to God and the Lamb! Hallelujah to Jesus! that mine eyes have seen this day; and thanks to my brethren that I have been permitted to enter here: for I perceive that God is here with you in power and glory!" He expressed to me at his own house, but a day or two after, his entire satisfaction with Joseph as a man of God, and also his approbation of the course of the church and council. He was so extravagant in his shoutings in that council, that most of the members hung their heads. I also thought to myself that he shouted too loud to shout long.[522]

Yet if Sidney was overemotional in the Council of Fifty, he was two weeks later at general conference its staunch advocate. "His visits to the councils," Jedediah Grant explained, "revived him up so much, that he spoke at the April Conference, several times, with considerable spirit and energy."[523] In fact, he completely dominated the first day-and-a-half of the conference speaking to the Saints. What was his topic? His topic was the Kingdom of God and the secret meetings held to advance its interests. He spoke long and fervently on how the Kingdom of God was the logical consequence of the visions and revelations given in the earliest days of the Church's history. What Joseph and Sidney and other Church leaders in the 1830s then envisioned for the Kingdom of God was now in 1844 being fulfilled.[524] To Council of Fifty members, Sidney Rigdon was clearly championing their cause.

So when two men declined vice-presidential nominations to run with Joseph Smith in his campaign for the presidency, the Council of Fifty on 6 May 1844 nominated Sidney Rigdon for the spot on the ticket.[525] Eleven days later, at the "State Convention" of "friends of General Joseph Smith," Sidney Rigdon "of Pennsylvania" was declared the choice for vice-president of the United States.[526] Sidney Rigdon had not resided in Pennsylvania for over twenty years and had lived in Nauvoo ever since the Saints moved there in 1839.[527] However, since the president and vice-president could not be from the same state, the Council of Fifty, with Sidney's hearty approval, authorized him to go to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to live.[528] Sidney had found Nauvoo increasingly uncomfortable because of the doctrinal innovations.[529] But then, as exemplified by his enthusiastic involvement with the Council of Fifty, Sidney was a fond admirer of pomp and political power.

If Joseph could tolerate Sidney as a prince in the Kingdom of God, he did not trust him enough, however, to make him a priest in the Anointed Quorum. Despite his appearance in the council meetings of the "Kingdom," Sidney was never invited to receive the endowment ordinances during any of the several Quorum meetings held following his 19 March 1844 initiation and reactivation.[530] However, five days after the Council of Fifty's decision to send Rigdon to Pennsylvania as Joseph's vice-presidential running mate, William W. Phelps, who was both a member of the Quorum and the Council of Fifty, took it upon himself to invite Sidney to a Quorum meeting. Phelps excused himself for this presumption on the rules of order by saying that he did not want to see Sidney go to Pittsburgh without receiving his endowment. So on 11 May 1844 Sidney "received in part the blessings" of the Anointed Quorum--two months

after his admission to the Council of Fifty.[531] Apparently Joseph Smith, when he saw Sidney present at the meeting, forgave Phelps's indiscretion. But even then the Prophet did not permit Rigdon the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood. And Joseph was heard to say privately after the meeting "that [Sidney] came in without his wish or invitation, as he had no confidence in him."[532] Nevertheless, Joseph Smith could use Sidney's talents and was judicious enough not to precipitate any rupture. After all, Sidney's oratorical skills, though unexercised for five years, were in full flower again at the general conference. Such skills would be necessary in the arduous campaign already planned for as the national convention in Baltimore was scheduled for 13 July 1844.[533]

Such was the man to whom William Law vowed that if the Prophet would not publicly admit his involvement in plural marriage he would launch a campaign to expose Joseph's practice.[534] True to his word, Law soon launched a scathing attack which ultimately presented the mobs of the county the opportunity to gain their vengeance.

Immediate Events and Causes of the Martyrdom

Nearly all the Twelve Apostles, the Council of Fifty, and a couple hundred missionaries were away from Nauvoo promoting the Prophet for the presidency when Law published the one and only issue of the Nauvoo Expositor on 7 June 1844. By the time the Laws went to Carthage on business three days later, they had already set the type for two pages of the next four-page issue.[535] But while they were gone, the City Council finished the two days of deliberations on what to do about the situation. They felt certain that if the sheet continued a mob

would come on Nauvoo to drive the Saints away. Moreover, they were very anxious knowing such a great number of the leaders were away from the city. They decided to invoke the clause in the City Charter that provided for the "abatement of nuisances." Therefore, they not only destroyed all the remaining copies of the paper, as legal precedent would countenance, but they (albeit orderly and peacefully) destroyed the furniture and fixtures of the printing establishment.[536]

The reaction of the Law brothers was predictable. Charges were sworn out that Joseph Smith as mayor of Nauvoo had incited a riot that included the City Council and the police in an appalling violation of the first amendment.[537] When officers came to arrest those so accused, the officers refused to permit the men to appear before the local magistrate. After a couple hours though, Joseph got his wish--a habeas corpus to appear before the Nauvoo Municipal Court late that afternoon. When Joseph and the others were granted the writ, and thus were judged as having acted properly in the destruction of the press, and thereby worthy of the writ of habeas corpus, the word quickly spread that Joseph and Hyrum Smith had circumvented legal process again.[538]

The next day, at a mass meeting held at Carthage, outraged citizens of the county decided to take the law into their own hands. A deputation of citizens from Warsaw brought resolutions passed at a similar mass meeting held there shortly after the destruction of the press. They resolved that as

> the time has now arrived when the law has ceased to be a protection to our lives and property . . . that the public threat made in the Council of [Warsaw] not only to destroy our printing press, but to take the life of its editor [Thomas C. Sharp, editor of the Warsaw Signal], is sufficient . . . to command . . . the services of every good citizen to put an immediate stop to the career of the mad prophet and his demoniac coadjutors. We

> must not only defend ourselves from danger, but we must resolutely carry the war into the enemy's camp. . . . [W]e hold ourselves at all times in readiness to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in this state, Missouri and Iowa, to Exterminate, utterly exterminate the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders, the authors of our troubles. . . . [T]hat the time . . . has arrived, when the adherents of Smith, as a body, should be driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo. That the prophet and his miscreant adherents should then [b]e demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary for our protection, of his adherents. . . . [T]hat every citizen [should] arm himself to be prepared to sustain the resolutions herein contained.[539]

Dramatically, before a vote was taken to adopt the Warsaw resolutions, "Dr. Barnes, one of the persons who went with the officers to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting the rioters . . . reported . . . the following potent words [were] entered upon the [arrest] records—honorably released."[540] After Francis M. Higbee roused the meeting with a vivid if inaccurate portrayal of the history of the Mormons, Dr. Barnes read aloud the Warsaw resolutions and they were passed by acclamation.[541]

This convention demanded that Govenor Thomas Ford be requested to directly interfere in the matter since Nauvoo was believed to be a scene of "blood and thunder" and "mobs."[542] But in letter written the following day from a relatively peaceful Nauvoo, Joseph Smith wrote that he would be willing to go to Springfield to face the governor. Sidney Rigdon, John M. Bernhisel and Dr. J. R. Wakefield wrote letters to accompany the Prophet's letter to the governor.[543]

By 15 June, Joseph received word that the effort had begun to drive the Saints into Nauvoo from outlying areas, and he was not in a conciliatory mood. He was reported as advising the Saints to defend themselves: "that when they gave up their arms to give up their lives with them as dearly as possible."[544] The Saints began to sense the

apprehension and anxieties they had known just before the Missouri expulsion.

Perhaps it is symbolic that the following day before a large Sunday assembly the Prophet said nothing of the lawlessness of the mob. He chose instead to speak only of the doctrinal differences he had with William Law, avoiding political "law and order" differences. In fact, in what was to be his final sermon the Prophet never once referred to the gentile opposition. Rather, he gave his most explicit, point-by-point dissertation on the doctrine of plurality of gods, the doctrine William Law so vigorously denounced in the Expositor the week before. Though facing a crisis as radical as in Missouri, the Prophet looked for the spiritual causes behind the outwardly political problems. His world view would permit him no other ultimate perspective.[545] ***

That afternoon, he wrote a letter to the governor to inform him of the Warsaw and Carthage resolutions and to request him to come to Nauvoo and quell the mob. "The Nauvoo Legion is at your service to quell all insurrection and support the dignity of the common weal," the Prophet promised.[546] Until the governor could arrive Joseph advised the outlying settlements not to give up their arms unless confronted by superior forces. If so confronted, he advised them to flee to Nauvoo; the so-reinforced Nauvoo contingent would then oppose the mob.[547]

The following day amidst rumors that "[l]arge bodies of armed men, cannons and munitions of war are coming on from Missouri in steamboats," Hyrum Smith wrote a letter to the Twelve Apostles calling them and all others home from their campaigning missions in order to help the Saints defend Nauvoo from possible seige. Joseph ordered the Nauvoo Legion to stand in readiness, but told Hyrum to delay sending his

letter calling all home.[548] The next day, 18 June 1844, Joseph declared martial law and on the twentieth wrote to have the Twelve Apostles return immediately.[549] Governor Ford arrived in Carthage on the morning of the twenty-first and from there tried to arbitrate between the Mormons and the mob.[550] When by late the next evening Joseph Smith concluded that the presence of Governor Ford would do little to quiet the mob, he decided to avoid arrest by crossing the Mississippi River to Montrose, Iowa Territory.[551] The day after, Vilate Kimball described the Saints' reaction.

> Yesterday morning (although it was sunday) was a scene of confusion. Joseph had fled and left word for the brethren to hang on to their arms and take care of themselves the best way they could. Some were tryed almost to death to think Joseph should leve them in the hour of danger. Hundreds have left the city since the fuss commenced. Most of the merchants on the hill have left. . . . I heard Joseph [wrote] and sent word back for his family to follow him, and Br Whitneys family were packing up, not knowing but they would have to go.[552]

We have evidence that Joseph did write to part of his family: to two of his plural wives, Maria and Sarah Lawrence; he told them to go to Cincinnati. "I dare not linger in Nauvoo," he told them.

> Our enimis shall not cease their infernal howling until they have drunk my lifes blood. I do not know what I shall do or where I shall go but if possible I will try to interview with President Tyler. Perhaps California or Austin will be more sympathetic. Speak of this to no one I want you two to make arrangements with R. Cahoon for passage at your earliest convenience . . . until you hear from me. Keep all things treasured up in your hearts. burn this letter as you read it. I close in hast. Do not dispair. Pray for me as I bleed my heart for you.
>
> I remain your loyal friend and companion.
>
> Joseph Smith[553]

Quorum and the Martyrdom

nowever, decided it would be best to return to
up.[554] That evening they made preparations
is very unlikely the Quorum met that Sunday
eph instructed those of the Quorum who were
remove their sacred garments before going to
ft instructions to those of the Quorum who
hey should hide or destroy all their temple
eports alleging that William Law had specified
he mobs should be certain to kill in Nauvoo.
ards recalled, when "the order came that in every habitation where any of the endowment clothes were found, [it] would [mean] death to the inmates--Olive Frost . . . came to tear to pieces the garments &c of . . . Doctor Levi. . . . Miss [Rhoda] Richards separated the parts and placed them among the articles of linen."[556] In fact, to Dr. Richards's wife, Sarah, the whole experience was faith promoting. She was not a member of the Quorum; she had only been a member of the Church a short time. And, she confessed, she did not have faith enough "to take all things for granted." She had understood that the mob had asked Law to describe the clothing, so they could identify their victims. She knew that Law had met in the room above the store week after week and had worn the clothing many times. But since the clothing had been kept at the store in folded bundles, Law was unable to show them any samples. She found it very singular that he was unable "to describe what [he] had handled, [had] placed on his person so many times." In this experience, she wrote, "I could see plainly the directing Hand and and my faith in God increased."[557]

Not only was provision made to protect the sacred clothing of the Anointed Quorum, but Joseph took precautions to protect the Council of Fifty. William Clayton, before Joseph crossed the river, mentioned in his diary the concern the Prophet had for the records of the Kingdom. "Joseph whispered to me either to put the r. of K. into the hands of some faithful man and send them away, or burn them, or bury them. I concluded to bury them, which I did immediately on my return home."[558] Additionally, early the following day, Clayton went to "Joseph['s] and got all the public and private records together and buried them."[559] These records apparently included Joseph's diary kept by Richards. Joseph's diary contained a myriad of cryptic notes regarding this time of great agitation, but it abruptly stopped with the entry for 22 June 1844.[560]

Fortunately, Willard Richards kept recording similar notes for the Prophet in his personal diary.[561] Near noon the day before the Martyrdom, despite all his efforts to cope with the situation as if nothing were going to happen, Joseph privately said to Willard, "I have had a good deal of anxiety about my safety . . . which I never did before—I could not help."[562] The following day in the late afternoon the mob surrounded the Carthage Jail and killed Joseph and Hyrum.

Shortly afterward, many associated Anointed Quorum membership and ideas directly to the martyrdom tragedy. For example, although William Law claimed that he left Carthage "immediately after breakfast . . . for Burlington" and was in Ft. Madison at the time of the murders, some, nevertheless, believed that he was part of the mob,[563] that a member of the Quorum had assisted in the commission of the awful act.[564] Moreover, some Saints apparently believed that Law incited Freemasons to

join the mob by saying that Joseph had not only corrupted the Masonic ritual for his religious purposes, but had committed the worse sin: that of admitting women to the order. In addition, many believed that Joseph knew Masons were in the mob and that at the moment of death he had uttered the official distress signal to make them contradict their own covenants.[565] "[T]here two innocent men were confined in jail," an editorial published two weeks after the killings said, "and [yet] were shot to death, while with uplifted hands they gave such signs of distress as would have commanded the interposition and benevolence of Savages or Pagans. They were both Masons in good standing. Ye Brethren of 'the mystic tie' what think ye! Where is our good Master Joseph and Hyrum? Is there a pagan, heathen, or savage nation on the globe that would not be moved on this great occasion. . . . Joseph's last exclamation was O Lord my God!"[566] These Saints clearly believed that Joseph had given the first four words of the sign of distress of the third degree that should have brought all Masons to Joseph's aid when his life was in danger. In the announcement of the Martyrdom, published in the 1844 Doctrine and Covenants, Willard Richards's faith in Joseph's promise he received when he was given his garment was also canonized: for Willard Richards was the only one in the jail who "through the providence of God, escaped, without even a hole in his robe."[567] But without his robe, John Taylor, too, was miraculously preserved and would later say that the brethren did not remove their garments because of fears, as some had misrepresented, but so they would not expose the sacred clothing to the gaze of unbelievers.[568] Finally, in one of his final instructions from Carthage Jail, Joseph asked that the Saints remember Revelation 6:9-10. For four generations--the length of the

biblical admonition--the Church prayed at the altar in remembrance of "them that were slain for the word of God."[569]

If Quorum concepts were enshrined as fundamental elements of the story of the Martyrdom, the Martyrdom was also convincing witness that since Quorum concepts would determine succession in leadership, the names of the Quorum must remain a secret. Such secrecy would be the only suitable protection to the "unwritten word" of which Quorum members alone were treasurers.

PART II

THE QUORUM AND THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION IN THE PRESIDENCY

CHAPTER IX

THE SUCCESSION OF THE TWELVE

When Sidney Rigdon arrived in Nauvoo shortly before the majority of the Twelve Apostles returned, he found individuals anxious for a resolution of the succession question, and he immediately sought support for his proposal to serve as "guardian" to the Church. But his plans were thwarted when the body of the Church at Nauvoo voted unanimously in favor of the succession of the Twelve. Basing their claim in part on "Quorum" concepts, the Twelve Apostles articulated well the experiences they had with Joseph Smith that made crystal clear to them the role they now had to assume regardless of Sidney Rigdon's previous superior ecclesiastical position.

August 1844: The Church Chooses

The question of succession in general and a new Trustee-in-Trust in particular had been deferred until the return of the Twelve. The principal persons who were to play the main roles in this succession question only began to arrive in Nauvoo in early August. Sidney Rigdon, now the only publicly acknowledged member of the First Presidency, arrived on Saturday, 3 August 1844.[570] He was invited by apostles Willard Richards and Parley P. Pratt to attend a council with the apostles at John Taylor's home to be held the following morning. But Sidney Rigdon "was ingaged with a Lawyer" and did not attend the morning meeting.[571] When Parley Pratt came to see what was detaining him,

Rigdon, after some delay decided to go with Pratt. But with the gathering of Saints for Sunday meeting, Rigdon told Pratt that there would not be time for council and so Sidney went directly to the meeting ground.[572]

Sidney preached to a large congregation and "delivered a message from the Lord that the Church must choose a guardian &c."[573] He told of a vision he received showing that since he was appointed by revelation as Joseph Smith's spokesman and since the Church would now have to be built up to Joseph, Sidney would have to be Joseph's liaison. Following his address, William Marks, at Sidney's instance, "made an appointment for a Meeting on Thursday for the church to chose [sic] a guardian."[574] Willard Richards proposed, however, that the Saints wait until the rest of the Twelve and the elders returned. Thomas Grover of the High Council proposed waiting until Sidney's revelation could be examined. After all, Sidney had given no one a chance to examine his claims before he presumed to present them publicly. William Marks in his own defense said that Sidney wanted the meeting to be held Tuesday, only two days hence, but Marks was able to get him to agree to wait until Thursday. Sidney said he wanted the meeting to be held on Tuesday because he "was some distance from his family & wanted to know if this people had any thing for him to do. if not he wanted to go on his way, for there was a people 1000's & 10,000's who would receive him. that he wanted to visit other branches around [but] this first [viz., Nauvoo]."[575] Many thought that Sidney was pushing things too fast. For example, William Clayton confided to his journal: "I do not feel satisfied with this move because is is universally understood that the Twelve have been sent for and are expected here every day and it seems a plot laid for the

saints to take advantage of their situation."[576] Notwithstanding these feelings, it seems the appointment for the church members to meet the following Thursday remained in effect.

The following day apostles Willard Richards, John Taylor, Parley Pratt, and George A. Smith, Bishop Newel K. Whitney, William W. Phelps and Samuel James met in council with Sidney Rigdon to find out why he was in such a hurry. Sidney denied that he expected the people to choose a guardian on Thursday. He only expected that they would have a prayer meeting. "[H]e wanted to see the brethren have a season of prayer & interchange of thought & feeling &c.-- and warm up each others hearts."[577] Whether all present believed Sidney Rigdon is not stated. Earlier that day, however, apostle Willard Richards met "in council with some of the High Council--about Marks proceedings," and Alpheus Cutler drew out of William Marks that Sidney Rigdon planned to be President of the Church, and expected William Marks to be Patriarch.[578] If Sidney had such plans, he, nevertheless, agreed during the afternoon meeting to await the return of the rest of the Twelve Apostles.[579]

At eight the next evening President Brigham Young, and Elders Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, Orson Pratt and Lyman Wight of the Quorum of the Twelve arrived in Nauvoo.[580] The following morning they met with the others of the Twelve--Parley P. Pratt, Willard Richards, and George A. Smith--at John Taylor's home where Apostle Taylor was still recovering from his wounds. The meeting was an admixture of joy and sorrow. They were grateful to meet again after "having passed through such trying scenes,"[581] yet they sensed, as Wilford Woodruff wrote it, that a "deep gloom seemed to rest over the City of Nauvoo

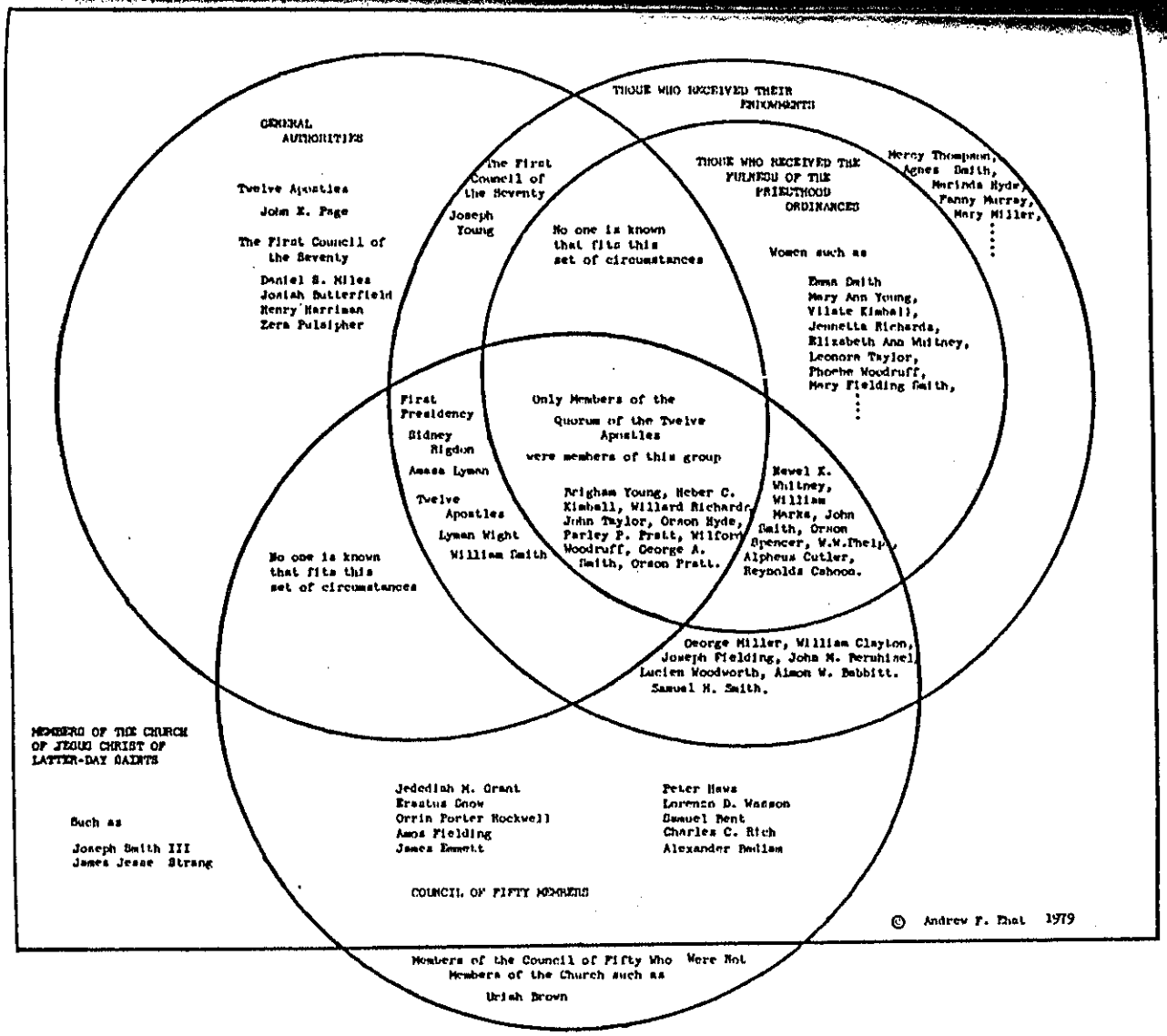
which we never experienced before"—a gloom that settled over the Saints with the sudden loss of their Seer. "We were received with gladness by the Saints throughout the City. They felt like sheep without a shepherd . . . as their head had been taken away," Apostle Woodruff recorded.[582] If the sheep were without a shepherd, the Twelve that afternoon were going to ease this anxiety of the Saints.

President Young and the Question of Succession

Brigham Young was apparently the first to recognize the responsibility that now rested on the Twelve which was made strikingly clear to him when he considered the Prophet Joseph's private introduction of the temple ordinances, the Council of Fifty, and the "Last Charge" (see Figure 1, an explanation of which follows). The Last Charge to the Council of Fifty empowered that group to continue their leadership in Kingdom of God matters even if Joseph Smith were killed. However, the rules of order for the Council made plain that the Fifty could not reorganize the Church. To suppose (as the rules of order required) that the three nonmembers of the Church who were members of the Council of Fifty would have equal voice in a reorganization of the priesthood was unthinkable to Brigham Young. The Council of Fifty could not make such a decision. Thus, because the Twelve Apostles were the only priesthood quorum of General Authority status that had received the fulness of priesthood anointings, only the Quorum of the Twelve could give direction to both the Church and the Kingdom of God. Only they had the authority to carry on the work of the temple--Joseph Smith's ultimate, capstone blessings for the Church. All other priesthood quorums or individuals had to appeal to the Twelve Apostles for the

FIGURE 1

A Venn Diagram Describing What Relationships Existed at the Death of the Prophet Joseph Smith Between the General Authorities, Those Who Received the Endowment, Those Who Received the Fulness of The Priesthood Ordinances, The Council of Fifty, and Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.


GENERAL AUTHORITIES
Twelve Apostles
John E. Page
The First Council of the Seventy
Daniel S. Niles
Josiah Butterfield
Henry Harriman
Zera Pulsipher
THOSE WHO RECEIVED THEIR ENDOWMENTS
The First Council of the Seventy
Joseph Young
No one is known that fits this set of circumstances
THOSE WHO RECEIVED THE FULNESS OF THE PRIESTHOOD ORDINANCES
Women such as
Emma Smith
Mary Ann Young,
Vilate Kimball,
Jennetta Richards,
Elizabeth Ann Whitney,
Leonora Taylor,
Phoebe Woodruff,
Mary Fielding Smith,
Mercy Thompson,
Agnes Smith,
Marinda Hyde,
Fanny Murray,
Mary Miller,
First Presidency
Sidney Rigdon
Amasa Lyman
Twelve Apostles
Lyman Wight
William Smith
Only Members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were members of this group
Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, John Taylor, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Orson Pratt.
Newel K. Whitney, William Marks, John Smith, Orson Spencer, W.W.Phelps, Alpheus Cutler, Reynolds Cahoon.
No one is known that fits this set of circumstances
George Miller, William Clayton, Joseph Fielding, John M. Bernhisel, Lucien Woodworth, Almon W. Babbitt, Samuel H. Smith.
MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
Such as
Joseph Smith III
James Jesse Strang
Jedediah M. Grant
Erastus Snow
Orrin Porter Rockwell
Amos Fielding
James Emmett
Peter Haws
Lorenzo D. Wasson
Samuel Bent
Charles C. Rich
Alexander Badlam
COUNCIL OF FIFTY MEMBERS
© Andrew F. Ehat 1979
Members of the Council of Fifty Who Were Not Members of the Church such as
Urish Brown

authority to perform the most significant ordinances introduced by Joseph Smith--ordinances which he taught were essential to man's exaltation. Even if Samuel H. Smith were to be President-Guardian, but had not received the fulness of the priesthood, he would have had to appeal to the Twelve Apostles for the authority to administer the ultimate blessings of the Church. However, because he died before the majority of the Twelve returned to Nauvoo, he was no longer an alternative successor. On the other hand, William Marks had received the fulness of the priesthood. But he did not intend to help implement all aspects of the temple ordinances nor the "Kingdom," and from this perspective he would not be a worthy successor to carry out Joseph Smith's measures.

There is no contemporary evidence yet come to light that any of the persons in Nauvoo after the Martyrdom (including the four of the Twelve Apostles--John Taylor, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, and George A. Smith--who arrived there before the rest of the Twelve) thought through all the concepts that apparently were immediately obvious to President Brigham Young, shaping the reasoning on succession he would present on behalf of the Quorum of the Twelve the afternoon of 7 August 1844. Brigham Young derived from Joseph's teachings and the Last Charge an unassailable claim for interim leadership; and, when Brigham made that position clear to the members of the Twelve who traveled with him back to Nauvoo, and to the rest of the Twelve who met him there that day, it not only undergirded their entire approach to succession during the remainder of their Nauvoo ministry, but also the rest of their lives.

Brigham Young first became aware of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith on 16 July 1844. But, he too had to draw the conclusion that would shape the apostles' procedures from then on. "The first thing which I thought of was, whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him from the earth." Then after little hesitation he concluded, "The keys of the kingdom are right here with the Church."[583] Proceeding to Boston the next day with Orson Pratt, who was with him at the time, they met the others of the Twelve who were in the Northeast—Orson Hyde, Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff. After these apostles vented their feelings weeping bitterly together, Brigham made his conclusions apparent to the others. At a meeting of the Boston Saints already scheduled by Orson Hyde for the next day, Brigham Young spoke and made the first reference to Joseph's Last Charge. "When God sends a man to do a work," President Young said, "all the devils in hell cannot kill him until he gets through his work. So with Joseph. He prepared all things gave the keys to men on the earth and said I may be soon taken from you."[584] To Brigham, there was only one direction to go and that was forward. And there was only one attitude to have and that was to "be of good cheer. The testimony is not in force while the testator liveth; when [Jesus] died it was in force; so it is with Joseph."[585] Brigham and the rest of the Twelve who were with him were ready to assume the responsibility of bearing off the keys of the kingdom. This was their perspective as they met together that first morning after their return to Nauvoo. That afternoon they would confirm that perspective with the other leading authorities of the Church.

7 August 1844: The First Full Expression of Succession Based on "Quorum" Concepts

At 4 p.m. the afternoon of 7 August 1844, the Twelve Apostles, the High Council and some high priests met in the second story of the incomplete Seventy's Hall and there listened to Sidney Rigdon rehearse the mission and vision he claimed he had from God.[586] He told of arriving in Pittsburgh on 27 June, visiting the countryside the next day, and locating in a house on 1 July. It was not until 6 July that news of the murder reached him. Then on the Friday before he started for Nauvoo he heard the voice of Joseph Smith say "you must not stay, you must go" to Nauvoo. He continued in prayer until he had a vision presented to his mind, not an open vision. In this vision he was shown that Joseph sustained the same relation to the Kingdom as he had ever done, that no man could be the successor of Joseph, that the Kingdom must be built up to Jesus Christ through Joseph Smith. Revelation was still required, but since Sidney had been ordained spokesman to Joseph Smith, Sidney was to speak for Joseph on this side of the veil. Sidney claimed that his vision essentially nullified the Nauvoo period temple ordinances since "every Quorum should stand as they had stood in [the] washings & consecration[s]" of the Kirtland Temple period. Sidney then ended on a dramatic note. He said that he would be "a spokesman until Joseph Smith himself shall descend as a mighty angel, lay his hand on [my] head & ordain [me] & say, 'Come up & act for me.' I have discharged my duty, & done what God commanded me." "The people could please themselves whether they accepted [me] or not."[587]

After Sidney's plea, Brigham Young spoke briefly. He said he wanted first to hear the voice of the Church in conference, by all the

authorities of the priesthood before a decision was made. "He said he did not care who lead the Church of God, if God said so, even if it was old 'Ann Lee,'[588] but he must know that God said so. He said he had the keys & the means of knowing the mind of God on this subject." Furthermore, " how often has Joseph said to the Twelve, I have laid the foundation & you must build thereon." "He knew there were those in our midst who would seek the lives of the Twelve as they had sought that of brother Joseph. He should ordain some man and give him the keys [of 'knowing the mind of God'] so that if he [Brigham] were killed the Church might still have the priesthood. He said the Twelve would not be permitted to tarry here long. They would organize the Church & then go away & they would baptize Mormons a great deal faster than the mob would be able to kill them."[589]

In the published version of these minutes, perhaps based on a presently unavailable source, Brigham's comments are further tied to Anointed Quorum concepts and the Last Charge. "I know there are those in our midst who will seek the lives of the Twelve as they did the lives of Joseph and Hyrum. We shall ordain others and give the fulness of the priesthood, so that if we are killed the fulness of the priesthood may remain. Joseph conferred upon our heads all the Keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come."[590] Even if these last passages are only Utah period interpolations, they nevertheless accurately reflect Brigham's understanding of the expansion of the definition of the apostleship, affected by the conferral of the power of Elijah by Joseph in January 1844. His comments the following day, recorded at the time,

show that he understood that with Joseph's conferral of the full keys of prayer in conjunction with the fulness of the priesthood ordinances, the fulness of the apostleship was only attained when an apostle received the ordination of king and priest. Through the Twelve Disciples in Jesus' day received the apostleship as recorded in Matthew 10, only three of the apostles received the power of Elijah--the power to seal on earth and in heaven--and they did not receive it until the time of Jesus' transfiguration recorded in Matthew 17.[591]

From the contemporary sources cited, we know that President Young inferred from the rumored threats that the mob was still seeking the lives of nine more of the "Quorum," and that the nine were the nine of the Twelve who had received the fulness of the priesthood (See Figure 1). Thus Brigham did not wish to expose those of the Quorum who had received the fulness of the priesthood to the peril of the mob and so jeopardize the continuity of this authority in the Church. As we shall see, these concerns influenced his actions and the actions of Quorum members up until the "power was put beyond the reach of mobs"[592] by the conferral of the highest temple ordinance blessings on other faithful individuals in the Nauvoo Temple a year and a half later.

The minutes by Willard Richards and William Clayton presented above do not comment on Sidney Rigdon's claims. However, Wilford Woodruff did so in his journal. "We herd Sidney Rigdon tell his story and message which he had . . . it was a kind of second class vision . . . [wherein] he was appointed to come and offer himself to lead the Church. . . . Br. Brigham Young . . . showed that their [sic] could not be any one before the Twelve."[593] Sidney Rigdon made no response to Brigham Young's statements. So in accord with his suggestions, "the

meeting closed by appointing a conference for next tuesday at 10 o'clock."[594]

8 August 1844: the Church Chooses the Twelve as the Highest Authorities Based in Part on Quorum Concepts

However, the following morning thousands of the Saints assembled in response to William Marks's announcement the Sunday before the return of the Twelve. The shorthand reports by Thomas Bullock of the remarks of Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young have never been transcribed.[595] However, Brigham Young in his diary recorded that Sidney Rigdon made his plea to be guardian despite his assurance two days before that he would not do so. "Br. Rigdon had made a long spech to the Saints (I should think 5 thousand)," Brigham wrote. "I arose and spoke to the people, my hart was swolen with compasion toards them and by the power of the Holy Gost even the spirit of the Prophets I was enabled to comfort the harts of the Saints."[596] At the time of his address the rest of the Twelve were in council discussing financial matters, so Brigham adjourned the meeting until 2 p.m. in the afternoon.[597] As Wilford Woodruff put it in his journal, "In consequence of some excitement among the People and a disposition by some spirits to try to divide the Church, it was thought best to attend to the business of the Church in the afternoon that was to be attended to on Tuesday."[598]

Between meetings, a delegation of the apostles went to finish their morning business, and Elders Richards and Kimball went with William Clayton to visit Emma Smith. Elder Kimball gave her $1,000 and bore testimony to her of the good feelings of the Twelve towards her. Clayton reported that she "seemed humble and more kind." She had been

very worried about the financial condition of her family and the personal debts she assumed as administratrix of her husband's estate. The Twelve intended to help in any way possible.[599]

In the afternoon the meeting was organized in the manner of a solemn assembly. President Marks organized the High Council on the stand. Noah Packard organized the high priests on the stand and on the right-hand side of the congregation. Levi Hancock organized the seventies in the front seats. Brother Williams organized the elders to the right of the seventies. The Bishops organized the priests, teachers and deacons behind the seventies. The sisters were seated on the left side of the congregation, and members seated all around. This organizing took forty-five minutes, and when they were done it was an impressive sight.[600] William W. Phelps was then called upon to open the meeting with prayer.

President Young stood before the people and said that for the first time in his life, in the lives of the Saints and in the existence of the Kingdom of God in the nineteenth century, the Twelve Apostles that God had called, anointed and ordained to bear off the keys of the Kingdom of God in all the earth, stepped forth to present themselves to the people. After explaining the source of the Twelve Apostles' authority, he put the questions: "I now want to ask each of you to tell me if you want to choose a guardian, a Prophet, evangelist or sumthing els as your head to lead you. All that are in favor of it make it manifest by raising the right hand."[601] No hands were raised in the congregation. He then declared:

> All that wants to draw away a party from the Church after them let them do it if they can but they will not prosper. I now wish to speak of the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Sidney Rigdon and Amasa Lyman were

> counsellors to Joseph, I ask where is Joseph? He is gone beyond the vail, and for them to act in their office as his councillors they must go beyond the veil whare he is. Their has been much said about Presiden Rigdon, being president of the Church, leading the people, being the head & If the People want President Rigdon to lead them, they may have him. But I say unto you that the quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world, they stand next to Joseph and are the Presidency of the Church, and hold the keys and would have to ordain any man unto that appointment [sic] that should be chosen, i.e., if one was to be chosen. You cannot appoint any man at our head, we should have to ordain him.[602]

Neither Sidney Rigdon nor Amasa Lyman had received from Joseph Smith the anointing and ordination of the fulness of the priesthood, and thus any apostleship they might have received, they did not have the fulness of it.

> The Prophet Joseph has lade the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it. . . . Let those who hold the keys of the kingdom of God build it up in all the world. If . . . he is a king and Priest [which Presidents Rigdon and Lyman were not], let him go and build up a kingdom this is his right, and it is the right of many here [see Figure 1 and Table 2] but who is the head? The Twelve. . . . Now if you want Rigdon, Lyman or Law to lead you or any body els, you may have them, But I tel you in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader and he has committed into their hands the keys of the Kingdom for all the world.[603]

Brigham's comments were conclusive to members of the Anointed Quorum, even to Sidney and Amasa--they knew its principles well enough--and even the Nauvoo populace had often enough heard the concepts of "keys of the Kingdom," "kings and priests," "anointings and sealings," to know that Brigham Young was clearly speaking in context with the emerging Nauvoo Temple ordinances. As B. H. Roberts observed, Brigham Young made no systematic attempt to speak of succession on the basis of the relationship between the respective presiding quorums.[604] Brigham felt that the most significant basis for apostolic succession was the basis he outlined in connection with the Prophet's Last Charge and the

anointings and ordinations of the Quorum of the Twelve as the only quorum in the Church the majority of which had received the highest ordinations and blessings of the Gospel. As they saw it, they were the highest quorum in the Church that had received the blessings for which Joseph gave his life.

Amasa Lyman followed President Young, saying he was satisfied with the frank, open manner in which President Young spoke. "I only take exception to my name being associated with William Law," President Lyman said. President Young asked that he be pardoned for that connection. Brother Lyman accepted the apology.[605] Amasa supported Brigham's comments and at one point said, "If Joseph Smith had any power to bear off the Kingdom of God, the Twelve have it now."[606]

William W. Phelps was asked by Sidney Rigdon to speak for him "as he could not speak."[607] Phelps believed enough had been said so the people could decide; nevertheless, he also pointed specifically to Anointed Quorum concepts, placing beyond question Sidney's relationship to the Twelve. "I want to say that there is a Qu[orum] that the 12 belong to [& from which the] people will rece[ieve] an end[owmen]t.-- I bro[ugh]t. Pres[ident]. Rig[don] in[to] that Quorum--I co[ul]d. not bear the tho[ugh]t of Pres. Rig[don] going into the world with[ou]t his end[owmen]t he obt[aine]d [in] p[ar]t the blessings & I hope he will submit."[608] Then turning to the theme of danger as others had done, Phelps continued his comments regarding the temple ordinances:

> There is intercourse in this city ~~who~~ of persons who are in intercourse with W. & W. Law who are at the bottom of the matter--there are persons now in this City who are wanting arms to murder all the persons that hold on to J[oseph]. but let us go ahead and build up the Temple and you will then be endowed. If you want to do right uphold the Twelve. If they die I am willing to die with them--But do your duty and you will be endowed. I will sustain the Twelve. Joseph and Hiram are

removed whare they can convers with the Gods beyond the reach of Powder and ball.[609]

After Parley P. Pratt occupied a few moments with references to the Saint's enemies in Nauvoo, Brigham Young spoke again to put to final vote the decision of the quorums of the Church. He first wanted the people to understand that the Twelve "want[ed] men app[ointe]d to take ch[arge] of the bus[iness] that lay on the shoulders of J[oseph]. . . . We want to build the Temple--& if Satan will not let us build--we will go into the Wild[erness] & will rece[ive] the endow[me]t--but we will rece[ive] our endow[men]t. anyhow--I carry any soul to any man if they will abide our Council they will ga[in] en[t]r[rance]. into the K[ingdom] & we have all the signs & the tokens to give to the Porter & he will let us in."[610] President Young then began to propose Sidney as guardian, guide and spokesman for the Church, but was interrupted by Sidney who wanted Brigham to propose the Twelve first. "[I]f the Ch[urch] want the 12 to walk in to their call[in]g . . . if this is your mind signify it by the uplifted hand-(all) if there is any of a contrary mind & every man & every woman who does not want it lift up (none)."[611] Brigham Young then observed that the unanimous vote superseded the necessity of bringing the vote to each quorum separately. In turn, the congregation voted to let Sidney Rigdon return to Pittsburgh (where he had wished to return immediately); voted for William Marks to remain as President of the Nauvoo Stake and High Council; voted that the Saints continue to be tithed so the Temple could be finished; voted to sustain the Twelve in all their missions; voted to allow the Twelve to dictate the finances of the Church; voted to defer the decision of choosing a Patriarch from among the Smith family, including Joseph's sons, until a

later time; and, finally, voted to sustain Sidney Rigdon in his position "and let him be one with us & we with him."[612] As William Clayton described the meeting, "the church universally voted to sustain the Twelve in their calling as next in presidency and . . . voted to leave the regulation of all the church matters in the hands of the Twelve. There was a very good feeling prevailed except among a few who were dissappointed."[613]

The thread through Brigham Young's two discourses and the speeches of Phelps, Lyman, and Pratt was the fact that Joseph conferred by an holy anointing the Keys of the Kingdom on the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Organizationally speaking, Joseph put no one between himself and the Twelve when he performed the anointings. Hyrum Smith, the Prophet's brother, was joint holder of the keys, but no other member of the First Presidency at that time was considered worthy of or had received the fulness of the priesthood. Joseph consequently later charged the Twelve to take the lead in executing his measures even while he was still alive. Thus the Twelve Apostles deduced they were to build upon the foundation providentally completed shortly before Joseph's death. Now the Church in special conference officially and unanimously confirmed their appointment.

The Twelve Apostles Begin Their Administration

The Twelve Apostles were to prove equal to the task. In the next few days they accomplished a myriad of wide-ranging decisions to organize the Church. Believing that previously "Joseph's presence . . . superceded the necessity of carrying out a perfect operation of the organization of the several Quorums," now, in his absence, the

Twelve felt that they should no longer serve on city councils and other municipal positions, that the Bishops should assume the general financial affairs of the Church; that the seventies ought to be organized. The Twelve specifically decided to have general Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller become the Trustees-in-Trust for the Church. Amasa Lyman was accepted as a thirteenth apostle. They voted for the estate of Joseph Smith to settle its own debts. They also reversed Joseph's delegation of the Lawrence estate to John Taylor. They decided to partition the American continent into districts over which high priests would preside. Wilford Woodruff was called to serve as President of the English Mission, but the emigration from England was to be superintended by Brigham Young. Lyman Wight's commission to go to Texas with the "Pinery" groups to "carry out the instructions he . . . received from Joseph.--& procure a location" was renewed. Willard Richards was assigned to write the history of the Church and was voted church funds to do this.[614] As evidenced by the wide-ranging nature of their decision-making only two days after assuming the leadership of the Church, the Twelve were well prepared to take charge of the most important matters of Church administration.

The Quorum Under the Leadership of the Twelve Apostles

What of the Anointed Quorum? The day after the Twelve assumed the Presidency of the Church, they "conversed about [the Quorum and] voted no ~~women~~ [sic] [the word women is then added above in shorthand] to be admitted in the Quorum--till times will permit." But this did not mean that the Quorum would not meet regularly. In fact, the Quorum met at Brigham Young's on 11 August 1844, the first Sunday after the

sustaining of the Twelve. There Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Amasa Lyman, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, George Miller, Levi Richards, John P. Green, Lucien Woodworth, Newel K. Whitney, and William Clayton "pray[ed] for deliverance from the Mob."[615] No new members were to come into the group until five months later, but the Quorum met regularly, usually consisting of only the above-named persons. Their object usually was to pray for this one thing: protection from the mob. For as Brigham Young was to report to the Quorum on the occasion of its first meeting in the Nauvoo Temple a year and a half later, "a few of the quorum had met [at least] twice a week ever since Joseph and Hyrum were killed . . . to offer up the signs and pray to our heavenly father to deliver his people and this is the cord which . . . bound this people together."[616] The meeting of 11 August 1844 inaugurated this new era for the Quorum. So concerned were they for the lives of the members of the Quorum that the whole Quorum did not meet again until ordinance work began in the Nauvoo Temple. The evidence of this concern is extensive. For example, when George and Mary Catherine Miller became the first of the Quorum to receive the fulness of the priesthood ordinances under the hands of the Twelve after the death of the Prophet, Wilford Woodruff did not detail the occasion in his diary except for the code he used for such occasions: "| Geo M | Mrs M |."[617] And on 3 September, when William Clayton copied Bishop Whitney's nearly complete list of Anointed Quorum members into his diary he identified this long list by saying only that, "Bro. Whitney handed me the following" (See Table 3).[618] When in December 1844, it was decided to begin admitting some new members, this was done with a sense of extreme caution. William Clayton recorded that he "met

with the brethern of the first quorum to pray & counsel. My wife [Ruth] and O. Pratts wife, P. P. Pratts wife and A. Lymans wife was voted in. We have to use the greatest care and caution & dare not let it be known that we meet."[619] Even at this time, six months after the Martyrdom, such precautions seemed so necessary that the persons Clayton mentioned were not admitted until over a month later. Meeting together in one place, the Quorum felt they increased the chances that the keys might be lost if a mob stormed their meeting and killed them. Yet if they did not meet, they could not offer the united prayers that they knew were their ultimate protection.

The Legacy of the Last Charge

In the wake of the Martyrdom the most visible and vital cohesive force flowing from the legacy of the Anointed Quorum and the Council of Fifty was Joseph Smith's Last Charge, which became the focusing point for the right of the Twelve to serve as the leaders of the Church. Nearly every time the Charge was mentioned it was mentioned in connection with the Prophet's private introduction of temple ordinances with oblique reference to the organization of the Kingdom of God. For example, when Wilford Woodruff gave his farewell address to the Saints on 25 August 1844 before beginning his mission to England, he asked the "people to be united in building upon the foundation which The Prophet Joseph . . . laid. . . . If you will be united and go too [sic] with your mights in building the temple you will have power to accomplish it & get an endowment."[620] But Wilford Woodruff's account of those who spoke after him indicates that they were more pointed than he was. "Elders O Hyde and P. P. Pratt testifed that Joseph the Prophet and Seer

had ordained, anointed and appointed the Twelve to lead the Church. [That he] had given them the Keys of the Kingdom of God for that purpose. W. W. Phelps and R. Cahoon bore testimony to the same thing, saying that Joseph said unto the Twelve upon your sholders [sic] the Kingdom of God must rest in all the world, now round up your sholders and bear it."[621] Many Saints found great consolation in these testimonies. A few days later, for example, Samuel Richards reported Orson Hyde's comments in greater detail in a letter to his brother, Franklin, who was still away from Nauvoo on a mission.

> Orson Hyde told . . . that they were in Council with Joseph so much last spring[.] He said that Joseph was preparing them for the work that they have now got to do which is to hold the keys and build up this kingdom in all the world. Joseph committed unto them all the keys of the Priesthood otherwise the fulness would not have been upon the Earth now [that] he is taken away. He also took them through all the ordinances which is necessary for the Salvation of Man, that they haveing experienced them all, by passing through them, might be prepared to lead the People in the path which they had trod when he had finished his work ordained and anointed the twelve to lead this people and build upon the foundation which he had laid he was filled with joy & sayes he it is now but little matter what becomest of me. . . . he has gone to minister not only on earth but in heaven, and under the earth.[622]

Joseph Fielding was grateful that Brigham Young had made clear "that the 12 must now hold the Keys of Power and Authority according to the Revelation which says the 12 are equal with the first Presidency"[623] and that he had "also shewn that Joseph had told the 12 after he had instructed them in all things that on them would rest the Responsibility and the Care of the Church in Case he should be taken away."[624] Enlarging on this second theme and Samuel Richards's idea that Joseph Smith was now a minister "in heaven, and under the earth," Joseph Fielding soothed his own sense of loss when he concluded

> [M]y Consolation in the midst of this Affair was that all had been done[.] Joseph and Hyram had done all that they could have done and the Foundation of the great Work of the last Days was laid so that it could be finished by the 12 Appostles who had been instructed in all things pertaining to the Kingdom of God on the Earth, Some also beside the 12 had received their Endowment, which was expected at the completion of the Temple. I myself and my Wife had had this Privilege granted us in part,[625] I also believed that as Joseph was the only one that had had the Keys of the Priesthood of [the] Kingdom of God on the Earth since the Days of Peter and the other Apostles, he must not only minister the same on Earth but also to the whole World of Spirits who departed from this Life in the time of the broken Covenant, even as Jesus did to those before him to the Flood,[626] that those who had died without the Priesthood must remain so until it should be restored to the Earth, but it is necessary that they as well as we who are now alive should be made acquainted with the Ordinances, Signs and Tokens of the Priesthood and the Turms [sic] of Admission into the Kingdom in Order that they may come forth with those who have received it here, so that Joseph was as much needed there as here, and perhaps more so, these Reflections in a great measure took off the Edge of the Grief that I might else have felt, for I thought that [he] had so fulfilled his own Purposes, and I felt willing to say amen to it.[627]

John S. Fullmer used the Last Charge as a missionary tool. Writing to his Uncle John on 27 September 1844, he testified that the modern apostles were

> equal [in] authority with ["Peter, James, & John or Paul"] . . . Men who have power to bind on earth & it shall bound in Heaven. & to loose on earth & it shall be loosed in Heaven. . . . Now I expect these things will choke you pretty near, but . . . I tell you these things are reasonable; & where these powers & authority are not held, then you will not find the fulness of the everlasting Gospel, nor the fulness of the Priesthood. . . .
>
> Perhaps you may think that be cause [sic] our leaders are gone we are the same as broke up, but let me tell you that . . . to our joy, the Prophet succeeded before his death in completely organizing the Church conferring Keys, authority and enduements upon the Apostles & others, so that the work can go on as well as when he alone was propelling it; and better, because there are more now to push it, each holding all the power which he held in the priestly office. We are rushing the Temple ahead, faster since his death than before. In it, all who shall be found worthy, have promised their enduement. We expect to finish it before a year from now. What would you give to share in such a blessing?[628]

When Dr. Josiah Ells's faith waned in the organization of the Church as supervised by the Quorum of the Twelve, feeling that Sidney Rigdon should have been President, he was requested to appear before the Nauvoo High Council for trial. During the meeting, apostle Orson Hyde bore testimony of the "appointment of the Twelve by Brother Joseph on the 23rd of March last, to ~~stand in~~ [sic] their present office, that on them the responsibility of bearing of the Kingdom rested, and tho' they had many difficulties to encounter, they must, 'Round up their shoulders and bear it like men of God and not be bluffed off by any man.'"[629] Both Alpheus Cutler of the High Council and apostle John Taylor confirmed Elder Hyde's comments. However, no testimony nor argument seemed to satisfy Dr. Ells and he was consequently disfellowshipped from the Church.[630] From Kirtland, Ohio, some local leaders confirmed their loyalty to the Twelve by beginning a letter with reference to the Last Charge. "We now see a fullfilment [sic] of that which was told you last winter, the work (says Brother Joseph) rests upon your shoulders; Consequently we appeal to you."[631]

Thus, the Last Charge became central in pleas for unity, a source for consolation, a tool for missionary work, a testimony for the wavering, and an evidence of loyalty.

CHAPTER X

THE SPOKESMAN SILENCED

Sidney Rigdon was not content to let the opportunity of standing in the stead of Joseph Smith pass by. During the remainder of the month of August 1844, though the Twelve were the chosen leaders of the Church, Sidney Rigdon worked behind the scenes to establish counterfeit forms of the Anointed Quorum and the Council of Fifty. Final refutation by the Twelve of Sidney's plans was thus unavoidable. At a six-hour trial of excommunication, Quorum concepts were the crucial determinants of the right of the Twelve Apostles to lead the Church and made unquestionable their strikingly clear crushing of Sidney Rigdon's claims and actions.

Sidney Rigdon Challenges the Authority of The Twelve Apostles

Understandably, the strongest challenge to the Twelve's claim to leadership came from Sidney Rigdon. He chose not to return to Pittsburgh as hastily as he originally planned, or as the Church had voted. Rather, in the month after the Twelve were voted the Presidency of the Church, Sidney gathered around him a group of individuals who favored his claims to leadership. To these people he administered his version of the temple ordinances of endowment and the fulness of the priesthood. And he appropriated the concept of the political Council of Fifty or Kingdom of God. But Rigdon organized his own Quorum deliberately rejecting plural marriage. And he prophesied that his kingdom would

play a great pre-Millennial military role that Joseph Smith never envisioned for it.

By late August rumors and reports of Sidney's proceedings came to the ear of Brigham Young. At ten the morning of 29 August 1844, the Twelve met at President Young's home to discuss with Sidney Rigdon and William Marks the nature of their designs. Sidney said he was too sick to attend, but President Marks was present.

> Prest. Young stated to Er Marks that in consequence of rumors & reports of the proceedings of him & Er Rigdon he had called them together that the thing might be talked over and if possible an union effected. Er Young stated what he had heard and Er Marks denied the charges in toto, and said he had been abused by the tongue of slander. He acknowledged that the course the Twelve had pursued was contrary to what he had expected but he did not intend to say any thing.[632]

A few days later, however, the rumors, at least regarding Sidney Rigdon, were substantiated. On 2 September 1844, Sidney Rigdon, at a meeting at the home of Nauvoo Stake High Councilman Leonard Soby, after implying he had authority above the Twelve Apostles, ordained several men as "Prophets, Priests and Kings." The following day the Twelve heard of Sidney's actions, and Brigham Young and Orson Hyde went to investigate. "We went into his house," Brigham reported,

> and after the usual compliments, I set down directly opposite him, and took hold of his hand. I looked him right in the face and asked him if he had a meeting last night, here, in which men were ordained to be prophets, priests and kings?
>
> He replied, "No we had no meeting here; had we brother Soby?"
>
> "Well, did you have a meeting anywhere, brother Rigdon, in which men were ordained to be prophets, priests and kings?"
>
> "Well, I don't know; did we have a meeting last night, brother Soby? Yes, I believe there was one last night; wasn't there brother Soby, up at your house?"
>
> I saw the disposition of elder Rigdon to conceal the truth and equivocate, and I determined to know the whole secret. I

said to him again. "Elder Rigdon, did you not ordain those men at that meeting last night?"

He replied, "Yes, I suppose I did."

I then asked brother Rigdon, by what authority he ordained prophets, priests and kings?

With a very significant air he replied, "Oh, I know about that!"[633]

Brigham knew Sidney had not observed anyone receiving the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood between Sidney's admittance to the Quorum and the Prophet's death. Someone had informed Sidney of the nature of the ordinance which led him to say, "I know about that!"[634] Brigham continued:

I then asked brother Rigdon; "Do you not think, really, that you hold keys and authority above any man, or set of men in this church, even the Twelve?"

Says he, "I never taught any such doctrine, did I brother Soby?"

Says I, "Brother Rigdon, tell me the truth, do you not think so?"

He replied, "Yes I do."

Says I, "that tells the whole story. Brother Joseph never undertook such important business as you are engaged in, without consulting his brethren, and especially the Twelve, if they were present."

. . .

To evade answering the questions I put to him, he finally said, "Don't crowd upon my feelings too much; my feelings are tender, and I don't wish to be crowded." I then proposed to him, that myself and the brethren of the Twelve would call in the evening and converse with him further on the subject, to which he agreed. In the evening eight of the Twelve together with Bishop Whitney, went to elder Rigdon's and conversed a-while.[635]

At this meeting on the evening of 3 September 1844, Sidney said his authority was greater than that of the Twelve. He claimed to have

had many visions and revelations at variance with those given through Joseph Smith. The Twelve and Bishop Whitney reasoned with him until 9 p.m. to no avail.[636] The Twelve then adjourned to Willard Richards's home "and after mature deliberation," George A. Smith recorded in his diary, "[we] disfellowshipped him and sent Elders Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde and Amasa Lyman to demand his [priesthood] license."[637] Sidney rebuffed this delegation saying, "I did not receive it from you, neither shall I give it up to you."[638] "[H]e was angry," Apostle Smith recorded, "and said he would expose the councillors of the Church and publish all he knew that the church had not been led by the Spirit of God for a long time."[639] The next day the Nauvoo Neighbor and the Times and Seasons both carried notices that Sidney was disfellowshipped and would be publicly tried for his membership the following Sunday, 8 September 1844.[640]

The following evening, 4 September 1844, "the twelve & a few others" of the Quorum "met at Er Youngs & offered up prayers for our preservation & the preservation of the church."[641] They prayed "that the Lord would bind up the dissenters that they may not have power to injure the honest in heart."[642] This was a remarkable prayer circle meeting. As one of the participants noted, "we had a good time and we believe the Lord will answer our prayers."[643] They felt assured that it was appropriate for the first time in Church history to try publicly a former member of the First Presidency of the Church. Members of the Quorum would in the future refer to this occasion as a time of witness that God was with them in their actions.[644]

Sidney Rigdon Excommunication Trial

Although the 8 August 1844 meeting was a thorough enough public examination of Anointed Quorum concepts to sustain the Quorum of the Twelve as the only legitimate possible leaders of the Church, the Sidney Rigdon excommunication trial became the clearest and fullest explication of those principles that would ever be recorded. During six hours of trial before thousands of Saints in Nauvoo, with the Twelve as witnesses against Sidney, and with William Marks as defense for Sidney, this trial reaffirmed the concepts that established the right of the Twelve to lead. In fact, every key concept regarding Quorum blessings and authority was referred to during the testimony given.

The Twelve Apostles were scrupulous in assembling the proper tribunal to try a President of the Church.[645] One of the Prophet's canonized revelations had outlined the procedure. Specifically, "inasmuch as a President of the High Priesthood shall transgress, he shall be had in remembrance before the common council of the church, who shall be assisted by twelve counselors of the High Priesthood; and their decision upon his head shall be an end of controversy concerning him."[646] The Twelve Apostles made it clear they were only to be considered witnesses at the trial, and twelve other high priests had been selected with Bishop Whitney at their head to be the "twelve counselors of the High Priesthood" to try Sidney.[647]

Brigham Young Prefers the Charge

Brigham Young preferred the charge against President Rigdon that Rigdon had illegally ordained "prophets, priests and kings" in secret meetings where he implied he had higher authority than any man in the

Church.[648] Brigham then had Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and Amasa Lyman, the three men who served summons on Sidney Rigdon, bear their witness before the people.

Orson Hyde as Witness

Orson Hyde first referred to Sidney's activities since the death of Joseph and Hyrum, that he came to Nauvoo with a revelation supporting him as "guardian" to the Church. Orson Hyde seemed to ask: Did Sidney present his revelation properly to the Church? "There is a way by which all revelations purporting to be from God through any man can be tested," Orson Hyde declared.

> Brother Joseph gave us the plan, says he, when all the quorums are assembled and organized in order, let the revelation be presented to the quorums, if it pass one let it go to another, and if it pass that, to another, and so on until it has passed all the quorums; and if it pass the whole without running against a snag, you may know it is of God.[649]

But to the Anointed Quorum Joseph Smith taught a second way that revelations would be tested. This second way was to be transparent to and not disruptive of the ecclesiatical order of the Church; it was, nevertheless, to be carried out in each instance.

> It is known to some who are present that there is a quorum organized where revelation can be tested. Brother Joseph said, let no revelation go to the people until it has been tested here. Now I would ask, did Elder Rigdon call the quorum together and there lay his revelation before it, to have it tested? No, he did not wait to call the quorum; neither did he [in harmony with the first way of testing revelation] call the authorities together that were here. He endeavored to ensnare the people and allure their minds by his flowery eloquence; but the plan was defeated. The voice of the people was in favor of sustaining the Twelve to be their leaders. I tell you it is no enviable place for one of that quorum to stand in, and act as the leaders of this people. The shafts of the enemy are always aimed at the head first.--[Nevertheless we go forward because] Brother Joseph said some time before he was murdered, "If I am taken away, upon you, the Twelve, will rest the responsibility of leading this people, and do not be bluffed off by any man.

> Go forward in the path of your duty though you walk into death. If you will be bold and maintain your ground the great God will sustain you." And now inasmuch as a charge has been laid upon us, it will be inquired in a day to come if we have been faithful to the charge, and we are responsible for what has been laid upon us.[650]

Elder Hyde testified that Sidney did claim higher authority than the Twelve and that he did threaten the Twelve that he would "publish all their secret works." But to put Sidney in proper perspective with Joseph and the Twelve, Orson Hyde gave a significant testimony of how the entire Quorum of the Twelve felt.

> Before I went east on the 4th of April last, we were in council with Brother Joseph almost every day for weeks, says Brother Joseph in one of those councils there is something going to happen; I don't know what it is, but the Lord bids me to hasten and give you your endowment before the temple is finished. He conducted us through every ordinance of the holy priesthood, and when he had gone through with all the ordinances he rejoiced very much, and says, now if they kill me you have got all the keys, and all the ordinances and you can confer them upon others, and the hosts of Satan will not be able to tear down the kingdom, as fast as you will be able to build it up; and now says he on your shoulders will the responsibility of leading the people rest, for the Lord is going to let me rest a while. Now why did he say to the Twelve on YOUR shoulders will this responsibility rest, why did he not mention Brother Hyrum? The spirit knew that Hyrum would be taken with him, and hence he did not mention his name; Elder Rigdon's name was not mentioned, although he was here all the time, but he did not attend our councils.[651]

In the wake of the Martyrdom, Joseph's Last Charge became more obvious in meaning. And while its meaning was not clear to Orson Hyde before the Prophet's death, nevertheless, this firm post-Martyrdom testimony of Elder Hyde's has become <u>the</u> most quoted passage regarding Joseph's designs for the Twelve.[652]

<u>Parley P. Pratt as Witness</u>

Parley P. Pratt was the next witness for the Twelve.

> [A]s has been stated we went to Elder Rigdon's house, when I heard that he had been ordaining men to unheard of offices.

> These men were in no quorum, and under nobody's direction, nor authority, but Elder Rigdon's own revelations. We protested against it. He claimed he had authority and keys over any one else. . . . Now brethren it was for this illegal manner, and the proceedings of their secret meetings, that fellowship of the Twelve was withdrawn from Elder Rigdon.--I was one of the committee who went to demand his license, and acted as spokesman. . . . I say and bear testimony that the things revealed to Sidney Rigdon . . . [are] a revelation of falsehood and delusion, calculated to lead the people astray.[653]

Elder Pratt was essentially correct that the ordinations of individuals to the fulness of the priesthood had not been made public and hence were "unheard of offices." But his main objection to Sidney's presumption was that his own followers were not in any quorum and subject to no one's direction. Under Joseph, a "king and priest" was subject to the established ecclesiastical authority of the Church. For though Joseph designed and hoped for the day that all officers of the church would prove worthy of the blessings of the fulness of the priesthood, these blessings of themselves would not create a functioning, secret, "real" power body in the Church that superseded normal hierarchical relationships so that only this secret body would conduct the most important church business. In fact, no effort was to be made to inform others of the anointed ones about new members to this sacred circle. In the final analysis, this highest endowment of power was to be received by the highest ecclesiastical officers of the Church only when they proved worthy. Clearly Sidney had never to Joseph's satisfaction proven himself a chosen one during the Nauvoo period. Thus another meaning given to Joseph's Last Charge was that he had intentionally excluded Sidney Rigdon from the highest blessings of the Gospel, notwithstanding his important ecclesiastical position.[654]

Amasa M. Lyman as Witness

Amasa Lyman, the third of the committee to demand Elder Rigdon's priesthood license, then presented his eyewitness evidence. He corroborated what Elders Hyde and Pratt said of the encounter they had with Sidney Rigdon. "[S]o far as I am acquainted with what has been said, it is correct, and the most of it has been under my own observation."[655] Elder Lyman also spoke of Sidney's militant tendencies.

> This man is made generalissimo of all armies of the Gentiles, on both sides I suppose; this is the man who is to fight these wonderful battles till the blood of the slain flow as high as the horses bridles in brook Kedron. Elder Brigham, nor any of the Twelve did not get this wonderful power; they have not got the same spirit. . . . Now this is the man who has got the keys of conquest.[656]

The previous Sunday, in a lengthy dicourse, Sidney Rigdon claimed to have the "keys of conquest."[657] As he had predicted the first Sunday he arrived in Nauvoo, "the time was near at hand when he would see one hundred tons of metal per second thrown at the enemies of God, and that the blood would be to the horses' bridles [as predicted in Revelation 13:20]."[658] Sidney expected to lead the faithful to victory and "expected to walk into the palace of Queen Victoria and lead her by the nose, when none would have power to say, 'why do ye so?'"[659] Sidney had always been more militant and extravagant than Joseph Smith.

A "revelation" that the apostate John C. Bennett brought with him to Nauvoo, which Sidney apparently accepted, outlined the spirit of his own branch of Mormonism in Pennsylvania, and shows how desperate he was.

The revelation allegedly dated 7 April 1841 begins by confirming that Joseph Smith "shall in no case lose his reward, and shall be a great king and imperial primate over all Israel" because he "hath been a

true and faithful prophet." But the time will come when "he shall be gathered unto his fathers and another shall take his office." But until that time Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon are to be "viceroys in the executive dominion" "not to officiate or usurp authority while Joseph yet liveth." But when Joseph is called home, "one of them shall survive Joseph, [and he] shall be as Joseph unto the people; yea, he shall be imperial primate to all Israel." "For as the key of doctrine has been given unto Joseph," the revelation continues, "so shall the key of conquest be given to Sidney." John C. Bennett's role in this order of things is then given: "Hearken unto me then my servant John C. Bennett, . . . seal up this revelation and preserve it while Joseph yet liveth[,] pure and sacred and at his decease thou shall give it to him who may be appointed to receive it: To Emma Smith, Amasa Lyman or George W. Robinson . . . and strictly observe the pattern shown thee by Joseph for the organization and establishment of the Halcyon Order, which excelleth all things heretofore given unto men." The revelation then warns these faithful that a "great day of apostacy is at hand and after the Kingdom shall be set up . . . my people will reject their prophet [Sidney Rigdon] . . . and they shall be ruled by 12 horns pushing them to destruction; but the righteous shall be saved . . . and the horns shall be lopped off. . . . And he who holdeth the key of Conquest shall prevail, and the remnant of my people who follow not that ruler shall be cut off from the true fold." The revelation implies that the "true fold" "shall be gathered to a delightsome city and afterwards many will go unto the land that I will tell them of by my servants." A special appeal was made to Emma Smith because she "holdeth records and a great key of knowledge, that the apostacy know not of and by it she shall have

great power for she will yet humble herself before that prophet [Sidney Rigdon] who shall rule in those days." Then, referring to the 1844 organization of the Council of Fifty, the revelation observes that "the kingdom that shall be set up shall be dissolved and the kingdom holding the new keys shall prevail, and her illuminati, and her princes, and her dukes, and her mighty men . . . prophets, priests and kings . . . shall be decorated with gems and costly array, with diadems and great glory." Then in an uncharacteristic equivocation the revelation concludes:

> The pattern of things is perfect, and the halcyons shall be accepted, and most of the men whose names are given in the pattern shall be faithful and true and they shall be great in the earth, and my servant the prophet holding the key of conquest shall consumate [sic] all things, and all who will not hearken to the voice of that king shall be cut off from amongst my people, for iniquity shall not prevail over righteousness and virtue, but the abominable, and they that do wickedly shall suddenly be destroyed and that without remedy. Stand still therefore and obey God.[660]

Clearly the "revelation" was an aftermath reaction to the August 1844 succession of the Quorum of the Twelve. The document at first poses the possibility that either Hyrum or Sidney could survive the Martyrdom, then perplexingly states that Sidney would definitely be the one to survive the tragedy. The revelation claims to predict that the Church would specifically reject Sidney Rigdon in favor of the Twelve Apostles. Yet in 1841, when the revelation was supposedly received, William Law was in far better standing with Joseph than Sidney was; and, significantly, Law was never mentioned in the revelation though he later gave aid to Rigdon's cause.[661] Sidney's wish to locate the Saints in the Allegheny mountains of Pennsylvania is conveniently anticipated in this document. Furthermore, this revelation not only refers to the Council of Fifty a year before its founding revelation was received (the

revelation in which the name of the Council was first given) but it says that the Council of Fifty would have to undergo reconstitution after Joseph's death. Both points made by the revelation are curious contradictions of Daniel 2:44, the Old Testament proof text for the organization. The revelation seems also to anticipate the Church's August 1844 struggle to obtain from Emma Smith the manuscripts of the New Translation of the Bible. In fact, eleven days after the Twelve Apostles were voted the leaders of the Church, Emma Smith was approached by Willard Richards for the manuscripts, but "she did not feel disposed to give [them] up at [that time.]"[662] Apparently, this revelation documents another August 1844 effort to obtain these records. Sidney Rigdon was, after all, Joseph Smith's chief assistant in compiling these manuscripts a decade before, and the manuscripts would have been a considerable prize for his countermovement to the Twelve Apostles. Finally, it seems too coincidental that Amasa Lyman was mentioned in the revelation. He was not a conspicious leader in 1841. But now, three years later, just after Joseph's death, at the time of this dramatic "unsealing" of the revelation Sidney and Amasa were the sole remaining members of the First Presidency. How ironic that Amasa Lyman, without knowing its exact contents, made such an effective reply to the revelation.

Sidney Rigdon stood by the revelation and, according to its dictates, he organized a "Church of Christ" in April 1845 in Pittsburgh.[663] The first thing he did to organize his church was to set up the "Kingdom of God" from among his anointed prophets, priests and kings. The rules of order for his "kingdom" were the rules of the Kingdom laid down in March and April 1844 by Joseph Smith to the Council

of Fifty.[664] But Sidney, in harmony with Bennett's "illuminati revelation" chose to reverse the biblical metaphor governing the organization of the Council of Fifty. Specifically, the woman mentioned in Revelation 12 as representing the Church of God was, by Sidney's method of organization, "born" of her offspring, the man child that represented the Kingdom of God. For Sidney had his "Church" priesthood quorums organized explicitly by his "Kingdom of God."[665] Moreover, his "Kingdom of God" did not have merely fifty members as Joseph Smith had instructed in 1844; in April 1845, Sidney required seventy-two.[666] Such excesses were no surprise to the Twelve. They wisely anticipated that he would only lead his group to inevitable embarrassment. In fact, as seen before, Joseph's measures for the Council of Fifty were never as militant as Sidney Rigdon's. Amasa Lyman's testimony reflected such caution about Sidney and accurately foreshadowed the actions he would take when he left Nauvoo and started his own Church in Pittsburgh.

John Taylor as Witness

The next person to address the trial was the characteristically forthright apostle, John Taylor. John Taylor explained that the Twelve had not wanted to take any cruel action against Sidney Rigdon. They had wanted to maintain good feelings with him. However, Sidney did things that could not be ignored. Some of the Twelve during their witness in the trial had recalled instances of Sidney Rigdon's misconduct resolved in previous trials, and Elder Taylor implied this was illustrative of Sidney's pattern of conduct. However, he added, the only relevant evidence that was to be weighed by the council and the people present was what Sidney had done since his return from Pittsburgh.[667] Speaking directly to this, John Taylor said:

> Elder Rigdon was appointed by President Smith to go to Pittsburg and build up a church; but he was expressly forbid to take any one with him. Now I would ask, has Elder Rigdon accomplished his mission? Has he sought to build up the church according to President Smith's order? No. He has been holding secret meetings; he has ordained men illegally, and contrary to the order of the priesthood; he has been ordaining men to the offices of prophets, priests and kings; whereas he does not hold that office himself; who does not know that this is wrong? There is not an officer belonging to the church but what is acquainted with this fact. Can a teacher ordain a priest? Can a priest ordain an elder? Can an elder ordain an apostle? You all know they could not, it is contrary to the order of God; and yet we find that President Rigdon, a man who ought to know better--who does know better--has been ordaining men to office that he does not hold himself: and yet he has come to us with a revelation to lead this church to the Celestial Kingdom of God; and even if he had the authority to ordain these men, he could not do it in and of himself without the accompanying ordinances, and under the circumstances which he did. There are numbers here who can bear witness to the truth of what I now say. These things go plainly to show that his mind is enveloped in darkness, that he is ignorant and blinded by the devil, and incompetent to fulfill the work which he has undertaken.
>
> There are some who would insinuate that we should be merciful; we have been as merciful as we could be in the fulfillment of our official duties. But if we pass over such gross violations of the ordinances of God's house, and such departures from the revelations of God; if such ordinations and organizations are suffered to proceed, we shall, as a people, soon be destroyed. I see men in this congregation who have received illegal ordinations, ordinations imparted through a perversion of the priesthood, and through the influence of an improper spirit. Who wants to see their friends destroyed in this way? A man may receive a spirit in a few minutes, the which it will take him years to get entirely rid of. I don't want any man with such a spirit to put his hands on my head, or on the head of any of my brethren.[668]

Sidney Rigdon had received the endowment but never the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood. Therefore to feign administering the highest ordinances of the priesthood--the highest blessings achievable by men and women--and to do it without first administering the endowment ordinances or even correctly conferring the final ordinances was a blatant violation of Joseph Smith's teachings and practices.

Joseph Fielding as Literary Witness. When Apostle Taylor said "there are numbers here who can bear witness to the truth of what I now say," he had specific reference to the men and women of the Quorum who had witnessed Joseph Smith's proper administration of these blessings. Though he was not called upon to present evidence in the trial, Joseph Fielding, a member of the Quorum and the Council of Fifty, became a literary witness to Sidney's violation of the ordinances when in his own diary he described Sidney's estrangement. The Twelve, after Sidney's return from Pittsburgh,

> invited Rigdon to their Council but he did not attend and he soon began to use threatening Language against the 12, Joseph &c to say that he had known for some years that Joseph had not been led by the Spirit of God [and gave this] as the Reason why he did not attend with him as his Councellor he soon so far committed himself that his License was demanded by the 12 but he refused [to] give it up, he seemed in no haste now to get to Pitsburg, but labored hard to raise a Party to himself and succeeded in some degree, some few clove to him, and were in a short time cut off from the Church along with him among the [party] were Samuel Bennett, Leonard Soby, Samuel ~~Samul~~ James, Wm Cottier &c when Rigdon had thus selected a Party, he [he?] they held Meetings and he taught them those things which he had learned in the Quorum as it is called (ie) a Company on whom Joseph had conferred the Endowment, being clothed in [blank space] Garments and received the last ~~that~~ Instructions that Joseph could give them, being washed and anointed &c these things were to be kept sacred, as it was not to become a general thing till the Temple be finished, Rigdon was admited there a short time before these troubles took Place, almost the last that was admitted, and when he became thus cut off if not before, he began to teach those things to his Party and to ordain them Prophets Priests and Kings though it appears that he obtained some things from Wm Marks one of the Quorum and the President of this Stake but he and his Party soon left Nauvoo and went to Pitsburg, where they began to publish a Paper chiefly to expose the Corruptions of the Church, . . . It seems that Joseph had not looked upon Rigdon as his Councillor for a long time, yet as the Church with Brother Hyram, seemed willing to continue him in that Office he was not openly dismissed therefrom Joseph said he had carried him till he was [sick] of it, He wanted one that would stand by him in Danger and Peril, and at all times but it appears that Joseph had chosen Bro Hyram and Amasa Lyman in the stead of Rigdon and Wm Law.[669]

To John Taylor, Joseph Fielding, and those serving as witnesses at this trial, Sidney Rigdon had violated one of the most basic of all rules of order in the Church: he sought to administer ordinances he had not received. This was what he was charged with and this was the actual reason he was excommunicated from the Church. To be sure, he was opposed to the leadership of the Twelve. But he blundered badly when he sought to administer Joseph's program ignorant of its exact usages and demonstrating his incompetence as a successor to the Prophet.

Heber C. Kimball as Witness

Heber C. Kimball next arose to speak. Though he was sick he "could not forebear to offer his testimony."[670] To Heber, anyone who believed that Sidney Rigdon had legitimate reason to attempt to wrest leadership from those already sustained as the Church's leaders did not understand the meaning of Joseph Smith's intentional exclusion of Sidney from the most sacred aspects of the Restoration. Speaking of Sidney's lasting exclusion from the Anointed Quorum, Heber rhetorically asked the thousands,

> [Sidney Rigdon] has no authority only what he receives from the church, if he was one with us, why was he not in our councils? He was not in the council pertaining to the the High Priesthood [viz., the Anointed Quorum] until just before he started for Pittsburgh. Brother Phelps was the means of bringing him in, but he has not got the same authority as others; there are more than thirty men who have got higher authority than he has.[671]

Actually, only twenty men alive at that time had received the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood.[672] Perhaps this bit of exaggeration was intended to confuse the enemies of the Church. During the remainder of his testimony, he referred to the belief that the mobs were still intent on killing the anointed ones.

> Here is John C. Bennett, and Wm. and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster and the Higbee's, are all the while seeking to come back and if they cannot accomplish their purposes they will seek to take our lives. . . . The Twelve have received the keys of the kingdom and as long as there is one of them left, he will hold them in preference to any one else. . . . We stand forth as the shepherds of the sheep, and we want to lead you into green pastures, that you may be healthy and strong. There are men here brethren who have got authority, but we don't want to mention their names, for the enemy will try to kill them.[673]

Apostle Kimball again referred to Joseph Smith's lack of confidence in Sidney as a reason Sidney was replaced in the First Presidency by Amasa Lyman shortly before the October general conference and during the Anointed Quorum meeting of 1 October 1843.

> Brother Joseph shook him off at the conference a year ago, he said he would carry him no more; if the church wanted to carry him they might, but he should not. Joseph said, he had no more authority in his office as counsellor. Elder Amasa Lyman was appointed in his stead, and all the power and authority and blessings which Elder Rigdon ever had, was put on the head of Brother Amasa. . . . If Elder Rigdon was in good standing, why has he not been with Bro. Joseph in all his councils. He has not acted as a councillor in Bro. Joseph's councils for five years, but the Twelve have, they have never forsaken him. Now when Bro. Joseph is gone, he comes and sets us aside.[674]

Then, in what must have been a stirring testimony, in language reminiscent of I John 1:1 where John bore testimony of his handling the nail prints of the glorified Christ, Elder Kimball capped his witness by saying, "I have handled with my hands, and have heard with my ears, the things of eternal reality, but I never betrayed Bro. Joseph."[675]

Brigham Young Offers the Opposition An Opportunity to Answer the Charges

Brigham Young spoke next. Believing enough evidence had been given to sustain the charges, Brigham wanted to allow time for those who wished, "to speak on the other side of the question."[676] But before doing so, however, Brigham confirmed the testimony of the others. In

particular, he confirmed Heber C. Kimball's assertion that on the evening Sidney was disfellowshipped, Sidney "intimated that if [the Twelve] opposed him we should have a mob on us." This roused the lion in Brigham. In Brigham's mind, Sidney Rigdon was a "black-hearted wretch" for suggesting he would try to bring a mob upon the Church to murder innocent men, women and children.[677] Sidney's threats, Brigham felt, were not the words of a true shepherd over his flock. Moreover, "Brother Joseph did cast of[f] Sidney, and his power and authority was taken from him, and put upon Amasa Lyman."[678]

Brigham concluded by inviting any of the opposition to speak: "I shall now wait and see if there is any one to produce testimony in favor of the opposite side of the question."[679]

William Marks on Behalf of Sidney Rigdon

President William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake, stood up to speak on behalf of Elder Rigdon. "There has been many things said which I know nothing about."[680] William Marks objected that no one had so far spoken in Sidney's defense. In the High Council, there would always be someone assigned to speak on behalf of the accused, and he did not feel that that principle was being followed in this case.[681] He felt there were things being "fetched up" as charges against Sidney Rigdon from a period earlier than the 1843 general conference when Rigdon was declared to be in full fellowship.[682] Emma Smith had feelings against Sidney Rigdon, William Marks reported, but within the week Emma "was on as good terms with Elder Rigdon as she had ever been since he was a member of the Church."[683] William Marks then spoke in defense of Sidney's ignorance of Anointed Quorum procedures regarding revelations.

> As respects his not presenting his vision or revelation before the first quorum, I can say, that Elder Rigdon did not know that this order was introduced. Brother Joseph told us that he, for the future whenever there was a revelation to be presented to the church he should first present it to that quorum, and then if it passed the first quorum, it should be presented to the Church. But Brother Rigdon did not know this, for he was only just brought into the quorum before he left to go to Pittsburg.[684]

Marks then disassociated himself from Sidney's activities and the revelation.

> There have been many things said of his course since he came from Pittsburgh which I know nothing of, as to his wishing to lead this people, I dont know anything about it. And as to his revelations being from the devil, I am sure I don't know whether they are from God or the devil.[685]

An important issue to William Marks was the fact of Sidney's ordination as a "prophet, seer and revelator." "I laid my hands on Brother Sidney with Brother Joseph and he ordained him to be a 'prophet and a seer and a revelator' and to be an equal with him in holding the keys and authority of this kingdom."[686]

> I have had a conversation with Elder Rigdon and I cannot find that he has committed a crime. The church has never cut off any person without a crime was proven against him. Now is there a man in the church who has received the ordination of a prophet, seer and revelator? If there is I want to see him.-- There has been men ordained prophets, priests and kings, but I have never heard of any one being ordained a seer and revelator.[687] I think I am knowing to all the ordinations, but I dont know of a man who has been ordained to the office and calling brother Sidney has; and if he is cut off, who will we have to obtain revelation? . . . I dont believe there are sufficient revelations given to lead this people, and I am fully of the belief that this people cannot build up the kingdom except it is done by revelation.[688]

Brigham Young Responds to William Marks

Brigham Young had apparently anticipated William Marks's argument regarding the receiving of revelations. For Brigham said just before William rose to speak, "Now we don't expect ever to move without

revelation and they that have the keys of the kingdom can get revelation."[689] These keys included the unwritten keys of the true order of prayer that redefined the meaning of the 1833 revelation that Marks referred to as making Sidney an "equal in the kingdom of heaven." The whole point of Joseph's exclusion of Sidney Rigdon in the last two years of the Prophet's life was that he was not an equal in the newly defined "Kingdom of God." "Bro. Marks has endeavored to soft soap the people," Brigham said in his rebuttal. "I have known that Brother Marks 'had no evidence but the written word;' . . . Brother Marks says, if there are any ordained to offices equal with Elder Rigdon he dont know it. He dont know all the ordinations, nor he wont till he knows something more than the written word. . . . As to a person not knowing more than the written word, let me tell you that there are keys that the written word never spoke of, nor never will."[690] The "keys of the kingdom" and the "keys of the priesthood" were terms Joseph Smith spent the last two years of his life redefining so as to include the meaning "signs, tokens, and key-words of the priesthood" "which cannot be revealed . . . only . . . in the temple."[691]

Parley P. Pratt and William W. Phelps also rebutted William Marks's comments after which Elder Orson Hyde restated the underpinnings of the succession argument by the Twelve. Apostle Hyde said "that a short time before the difficulties, President Joseph Smith in one of their councils, told the Twelve that he had given them all the keys and ordinances which had been committed to him."[692] At the time of this Charge, Sidney Rigdon was not privy to the "unwritten keys" of the Anointed Quorum.[693]

Conclusion of the Trial

"At this stage of the business," William Clayton reported in his extensive minutes of the trial, "there was a call for the question, from many parts of the congregation, whereupon, President Young without further ceremony submitted the case to Bishop Whitney and the High Council."[694]

Bishop Newel K. Whitney, a member of the Quorum and the Council of Fifty, "[had] also been present when others conversed with [Sidney Rigdon]." "When [Sidney] first came here [from Pittsburgh]," Bishop Whitney said to the assemblage, "I thought [Sidney] was deceived, but since last Tuesday evening, I have been convinced that he is dishonest. He made many evasive replies to the interrogatories of the Twelve, and I think his calculation is to scatter this people, because his theory comes in opposition to President Joseph Smith's revelations."[695] He then presented the following motion to the High Council: "I feel to sustain the Twelve in withdrawing their fellowship, and I think the high Council and the church ought to sustain the decision of the Twelve [made last Tuesday evening in disfellowshipping him]."[696]

"Elder Hyde arose and said he was not satisfied with the motion; it is not explicit enough.

"Elder W. W. Phelps arose and offered a motion, that Elder Sidney Rigdon be cut off from the church, and delivered over to the buffetings of satan until he repents.

"Bishop Whitney then presented the motion to the High Council, and the vote was unanimous in the affirmative."[697]

Now came the most dramatic moment of all. William Phelps presented the same motion to the entire body of the Church members

present. Then "President Young arose and requested the congregation to place themselves so that they could see all who voted. We want to know who goes for Sidney and who are for the Twelve. He then called upon the church to signify whether they was [sic] in favor of the motion. The vote was unanimous, excepting a few of Elder Rigdon's party, numbering about ten."[698]

"He then requested those who were for Sidney Rigdon to manifest it, and as before stated there was about ten."[699]

"Elder Young arose and delivered Sidney Rigdon over to the buffetings of Satan, in the name of the Lord, and all the people said, Amen."[700]

"It was motioned and seconded, that President Marks, express his feelings at the proceedings of this meeting.

"He arose and said he was willing to be satisfied with the action of the church on the case."[701]

Meaning of the Trial

This extremely important meeting concluded at 4 p.m.--a meeting of five hours and fifty minutes. If it had not been clear before what the apostles' claim to leadership was at the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith, it was now made as clear as possible without speaking too explicitly regarding the temple ordinances. To the Twelve Apostles, and to the others who were privy to and believed in all the revelations Joseph Smith espoused, these temple blessings were not merely illustrative of, but were the very foundation, to the appointment of the Twelve Apostles as the intended leadership of the Church upon the Prophet's death. In over sixty-six meetings of the Anointed Quorum and

in seventeen days of meetings in his Council of Fifty Joseph Smith's world view had been engraved in the minds of the Twelve. They learned from him all the principles and plans prepared not only for the Millennial reign, but also the celestial reign of the Saints in the eternities. Fixed firmly in these men's minds was the only authentic course for the Church and the Kingdom of God after the Prophet's death. To those who knew of and believed in all of Joseph's revelations on temple ordinances (including eternal and plural marriage), to those who knew of and believed in Joseph's revelations on the Council of Fifty, and to those who believed in Joseph's April 1844 publicly expressed conviction that if he were to then die he would die a true prophet, there was only one choice after his death--Follow the Twelve Apostles.

Eleven days after Sidney Rigdon's excommunication trial, Orson Hyde, while traveling down the Mississippi River on river boat, met Ebenezer Robinson. Since Apostle Hyde knew Elder Robinson was going to Pittsburgh, Orson composed a letter for Ebenezer to read to the Pittsburgh Saints. This letter is a most concise summary of Anointed Quorum concepts both as they relate to the Apostles' commission to lead the Church as well as to the deficiency of Sidney's position. In after years it became a haunting memory to Ebenezer Robinson of the sincerity and honesty of the measures not only of the Twelve Apostles after the Martyrdom of the Prophet, but also of the Prophet Joseph Smith himself during the two years before his death when he introduced the "Holy Order" to the Twelve and others.

Steam Boat North Bend,

Sept. 19th 1844.

Bro. E. Robinson, * * * [sic].

You probably may have received something by way of counsel from Nauvoo from Brother Young, if so, I trust you will regard it as coming from "the proper source." We have had a charge given us by our prophet, and that charge we intend to honor and magnify. It was given in March last. He said: "let no man take your crown, and though you should have to walk right into death, fear not, neither be dismayed." "You have to die but once." "To us were committed the Keys of the Kingdom, and every gift, key and power, that Joseph ever had," confirmed upon our heads by an anointing, which Bro. Rigdon never did receive. * * * [sic]

We know the charge which the prophet gave us, and the responsibility which the Spirit of the living God laid on us through him, and we know that Elder Rigdon does not know what it was. We have counted the cost of the stand we have taken, and have firmly and unitedly, with prayer and with fasting—with signs and with tokens, with garments and with girdle, decreed in the name of Jesus Christ, that we will honor our calling, and faithfully carry out the measures of the prophet so far as we have power, relying on the arm of God for strength in every time of need. * * * [sic]

I know that the curse of God will fall upon every one that tries to give us trouble or to weaken our hands in the work in which we are engaged, for this promise we have obtained from the Lord in solemn convocation. * * * [sic]

I want you to read this letter to the Saints in Pittsburg, not to the world.

My kind love to all the Saints, to yourself and family.

Yours truly,

O. Hyde. [702]

Fifty years after Robinson left the "Church of Christ" as a disillusioned counselor to Sidney's First Presidency, and years after departing from the Reorganization then only finding solace when he futilely attempted to establish the Church under the direction of David Whitmer, this letter reminded Robinson of the Prophet's private

introduction of the temple ordinances and how these things made it impossible for the Twelve Apostles to do any differently with Sidney Rigdon then they had done in September 1844 when he was everlastingly silenced as spokesman to the Church that went West.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION: THE TWELVE AND JOSEPH'S SONS

With the departure of Sidney Rigdon and his followers, Nauvoo would be relatively peaceful until the time of the forced departure in late fall and winter of 1845-1846. But until then the Temple and its expected endowment would be the main preoccupation of the Saints. In fact, the Temple, in only two months after the Twelve assumed leadership of the Church, underwent unprecedented progress in construction. It was as if all were united to disprove Sidney Rigdon's prophecy that it would never be completed.[703]

The Twelve and the Nauvoo Temple

Joseph's widow, Emma, remained relatively cool toward the Twelve Apostles. Brigham and the Twelve assumed that had Joseph lived, he and Emma would have been the first to administer the washings and anointings to their respective sexes in the Nauvoo Temple. And since Joseph and Emma would have been revealing these ordinances for the first time in a temple in this dispensation, they too in proper order would have received again these ordinances from those to whom they first administered the ordinances. Then, after the temple resealing of their May 1843 eternal marriage covenants, their children would have been escorted to the altar to be sealed to them. Before the sealing,

however, Joseph and Emma would have heard these important queries by the officiator:

> Brother Joseph and Sister Emma: do you both covenant and promise in the presence of God, Holy Angels and these witnesses upon this sacred Altar that you will use all diligence in faithfulness to teach these your children in all the principles of righteousness and truth and so secure unto them eternal salvation in the Celestial Kingdom of God and promote their happiness in time and in eternity that they may share all your blessings, that they shall be given unto you both in this world and in the world to come?[704]

After Joseph and Emma had said, "Yes," the ceremony would have continued with the officiator asking Joseph III, and the other children in the order of their ages,

> Do you covenant and agree to receive and obey the counsels and instructions of these your parents that you may obtain salvation and eternal life?[705]

When the children responded affirmatively, the officator would have sealed Joseph's family together for time and all eternity. Emma would have given, and Joseph would have received, the sealing of all the wives he had received before the temple was completed. Finally Joseph and Emma would have entered the Holy of Holies to receive the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood. Such was the expectation of the Twelve not only for Joseph and Emma's family, but also their own families before Joseph's death. They expected, too, that the day would come that their children, if they proved worthy, would receive their full endowment, eternal marriage and fulness of the priesthood blessings.

Now the Twelve hoped Emma would still be willing to do all this in the Nauvoo Temple with someone proxy for Joseph. Moreover, she still could supervise while the sisters of the Church received their washings, anointings, garments, and robes of the priesthood. In the edifice memorializing Joseph's vision, she could have officiated in giving the

"keys of the priesthood" to the sisters over whom she was called to be "Elect Lady."

But as she told William Clayton shortly after the Twelve were sustained as the leaders of the Church, she believed that it was the secret teachings, the secret doctrines, the secret meetings, the "secret things which had cost Joseph and Hyrum their lives."[706] "She [then] repeated . . . two or three times" to Clayton, "I prophesy that it will cost you and the Twelve your lives as it had done them."[707] Perhaps her loneliness and depression over the loss of Joseph occasioned such a remark. Despondency coupled with her frustration in the task of settling her husband's financial affairs reinforced her loneliness and despair. But though Brigham Young told William Clayton "to fear not, but rejoice" over her expressions, Emma was resolved that her children would not suffer the fate that even the Twelve feared at that time could be the fate of the Anointed Quorum.[707] So now the Twelve fell heir to fulfilling the vision the Prophet had for inaugurating ordinance work in the Nauvoo Temple. Apparently by December 1844 the succession was theoretically complete, even in terms of the expected administration of temple ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple, for at the dedication of the Seventy's Hall 31 December 1844, Elder Heber C. Kimball urged the Saints to

> preserve our President [, Brigham Young,] and his wife [, Mary Ann Young,] for we must receive our Endumen[ts] through them. But it must be done in order, [e]very one at his time as it comes through the channel beginning at the head & be patient and wait till the time and turn comes.[708]

The Saints in Nauvoo were charged to protect President Young and his wife, in order that the full vision Joseph Smith had for the Church, the Temple, and the Kingdom would never be lost again from the earth.

Brigham Young and the Twelve were zealous in fulfilling Joseph's intentions for the Nauvoo Temple when ordinance work began in December 1845. In less than sixty days, over 5,000 persons received the endowment, 2,420 living individuals received eternal marriage sealings, 369 persons participated in proxy marriage ordinances, 71 children were sealed, 130 adoptions were performed, and 591 received the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood.[709] The quality of their service was as impressive as the quantity: Joseph Fielding, one of Joseph's Quorum testified that "the 12 [were] very strict in attending to the true and proper form [of the temple ordinances] . . . ministering in the Temple and teaching the way of Life and Salvation."[710] Their commitment to fulfill Joseph's charge was complete. Despite the urgency of preparations to leave Nauvoo during the middle of winter, the Twelve administered these ordinances until within only a few hours before their departure.[711]

The Succession of the Twelve and the Blessing of Joseph III

But before the exodus of the Twelve and the Saints from Nauvoo, some became concerned that the Twelve believed they were the permanent successors. William Smith writing in August 1845, two months before his own falling out, wrote to Jesse Little in order to counteract this impression:

> Little Joseph his Fathers successor although some people would fain make us believe that the Twelve are to be the perpetual heads of this Church to the exclusion of the Smith family, but every one who has read the book of Doctrine and Covenants must be aware that Priesthood authority is hereditary and descends from Father to son and therefore Josephs oldest son will take his place when he arrives to the age of a maturity. The twelve are however the Presidents for the time being but when Josephs successor comes they take their former place. I merely make

> these remarks lest a false impression might get abroad concerning this matter.[712]

That William Smith was not merely speaking for himself in this letter, he in fact confirms when in October 1845 he came out against the rest of the Twelve.

> . . . this Brigham Young was pampering the church with the idea that although little Joseph was the rightful heir to the priesthood and office of his father as a prophet, seer, and revelator, that it was not prudent to mention this for fear of the little child's life.[713]

Both George Miller and George J. Adams, when they likewise became disillusioned with the leadership of the Twelve Apostles, did not accuse the Twelve of denying the right of Joseph Smith III, but they accused the Twelve of quieting talk regarding the rightful place of Joseph Smith III.[714]

The Twelve had in fact followed all the known precedents of Joseph's mission in the succession struggle and had acted prudently in face of the dangerous conditions of 1844–1845. They were concerned to protect the life of Joseph Smith III as also the lives of the Anointed Quorum. The Twelve never gave up. Benjamin F. Johnson, just before the departure of the Twelve, "was appointed [to go] with Bishop N. K. Whitney to visit Sister Emma for the last time, and if possible persuade her to remain with the Church. Nearly all night we labored with her," Johnson reported, but she was unwilling to go West and be subject to the authority of the Twelve Apostles.[715]

In the ensuing years, as her sons Joseph and David matured, she shaped their destinies and decisions regarding their father's work more by her silence than by recalling his doctrines and teachings. Joseph Smith III frankly admitted that when he became president of the

Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints he was ignorant of the doctrines and teachings of his father.[716] Yet long before his assumption of the Presidency of the RLDS Church he had made his resolute decision concerning plural marriage.[717] Unlike Hyrum Smith, however, Joseph Smith III never was taught the truth of the doctrine.

Had Emma Smith decided to go to Utah and teach her son all the doctrines and ordinances of the Gospel, Brigham Young would likely have called to the apostleship Joseph Smith's eldest son as he called to the apostleship Hyrum Smith's eldest son born of Mary Fielding. Six years junior to Joseph III, Joseph F. Smith was ordained in 1866 an apostle in the LDS Church. Thus, if all things were otherwise the same as the case of Joseph F. Smith, that same year that Joseph III became president of the RLDS Church, he might have been ordained an apostle in the LDS Church. As he gained maturity and became worthy of the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood, ordinances which come "not by father, nor mother, by beginning of days or end of years, but of God," the process of Apostolic Succession would have brought Joseph Smith III to the Presidency of the Church upon the death of Lorenzo Snow in 1901. In fact, Joseph Smith III might have received this position in fulfillment of his father's blessing even earlier. Only in the 1870s, after twenty-five years of administration, did Brigham Young seriously discuss the question of succession in the event of his own death.[718] First, he had never considered himself as Joseph Smith's sole successor, and, second, he had long hoped for the Spirit of God to move either Joseph or David to fill the station Brigham believed their father had appointed to them. Shortly after Joseph Smith III became president of the RLDS Church, Brigham Young said,

> . . . What of Joseph Smith's family? What of his boys? I have prayed from the beginning for sister Emma and for the whole family. There is not a man in this Church that has entertained better feelings towards them. Joseph said to me, "God will take care of my children when I am taken." They are in the hands of God, and when they make their appearance before this people, full of his power, there are none but what will say--"Amen! We are ready to receive you."
>
> The brethren testify that brother Brigham is brother Joseph's legal successor. You never heard me say so. I say that I am a good hand to keep the dogs and wolves out of the flock. I do not care a groat who rises up. I do not think anything about being Joseph's successor. That is nothing that concerns me.[719]

Soon after Brigham Young had heard that Joseph Smith III had become president of the RLDS Church he said that "young Joseph & Emma Smith . . . had undertook to esstablish a Church . . . upon fals ground & principles in oposition to the true Church of Christ,"[720] but he also said "that the boy had got into a canoe & put to sea, and there would be a chance to pick them up some time."[721] But Brigham believed that young Joseph's decision was a fateful decision. Later he believed that "Joseph might be a prophet and do a good work, but he never would be leader of this people. David would be the leader of the Church."[722] When, in 1863, Alexander H. Smith made a visit to Utah for the RLDS cause, Brigham Young spoke during the October general conference more specifically about Joseph and David Smith.

> . . . Young David Smith seems . . . heart and hand with his brother Joseph . . . When Joseph the prophet was killed his wife Emma was pregnant. Joseph said, previous to his death, "She shall have a son, and his name shall be called David, and unto him the Lord will look." I am looking for the time when the Lord will speak to David; but let him persue the course he is now persueing, and he will never preside over the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in time or in eternity. He has got to repent of his sins, and turn away from his iniquity, to cease to do evil, and learn to do well, embrace the Gospel of life and salvation, and be an obedient son of God, or he never can walk up to possess his right. It would be his right to preside over this Church, if he would only walk in the true path

of duty. I hope and pray that he and the whole family will repent, and be a holy family. . .

Now, you old Mormons, stop your talking about young Joseph, and about David going to preside over the Church by and by; I wish he was prepared for it, would repent of his sins, and come in at the door, and be one with us, and walk up to the Twelve and the First Presidency, saying, I am one with you, and am your servant.

. . . Now, you who have got but little sense wait until you get a little more, and stop talking and speculating about Young Joseph or any body else. God is the captain of this company, the general of this army of Saints, and the President of the Church, its ruler and dictator. If I am the instrument which He chooses to use in the prosecution of His great work, it is all right. I am just as willing as any other man to be used.[723]

Five years later, Brigham Young felt that "the family of Joseph would be placed in circumstances where they would get . . . revelation from [the Lord] so that they would yet see their true condition."[724] Such revelation never came. Through all his frustration, Brigham Young never in any of these expressions denied the birthright blessings of the Joseph Smith family. But by the 1870s his hope seemed extinguished that a descendant would submit to all the Gospel principles and practices the Prophet had given his life's blood to introduce. ***

A True and Faithful Prophet is Succeeded by the Twelve Apostles

Joseph Smith III maintained that his father was not involved in the introduction of the principle of plural marriage in the Church; and even if he were ever to find incontrovertible evidence that his father had actually introduced the practice, his recourse would then be that in this thing his father, too, was a transgressor. For the standard works (as he interpreted them) did not allow for such a practice. As he explained to John W. Rigdon, Sidney Rigdon's son, "Personally I am persuaded that Father was not the responsible agent for the introduction

of plural marriage; whether he may have become entangled in wrongdoing I do not pretend to say either yea or nay. And he thus may have become a personal transgressor; but whatever he may have done in this regard, or left undone, I am not responsible for; nor will I consent to be included either in his wrongdoing or the consequences that seem to have grown out of it, if he were a wrongdoer." Just as William Law and others who rejected the Prophet's teachings on plural marriage, he could not concede that God could possibly authorize such a practice. Joseph's son reechoed what the Prophet Joseph Smith had often heard from some of the Saints who were tried by this practice in his day: "Only so far may God reveal and I will believe."[725]

Although Joseph Smith III had in this manner insulated himself from the evidence regarding his father's practice of plural marriage, his brother, David Hyrum Smith, was not so immune. Sophisticated in his missionary approach, yet while he was on a proselyting mission to Utah in 1872, David Hyrum, nevertheless, became convinced that his father was responsible for the practice of plural marriage. Writing to a very close friend, with the request that his communication be burned after it was read, David confided:

> . . . We are making grand headway here in this city against the evils here, I hope the day will come when they will be done away. It is an unpleasant subject to me if I knew in regard to the subject I would tell you the truth, you I think know me well enough to know I never would decieve you in any thing cost what bears it would I would tell you if I thought my brother was a deciever I would save you from deception. I know my Mother believes just as we do in faith, repentance, baptism and all the saving doctrines, in the books of the church and all, but I do not wish to ask her in regard to polygamy,[726] for dear brother God forgive me if I am wrong I how can I tell you if I did not love you I could not, I believe there was something wrong. I dont know it, but I believe it, the testimony is too great for me to deny. Now you may give up everthing if you must and cease to regard me as your friend but I never did decieve you and never will if my father sinned I can not help it. The truth to

> me is the same he must suffer for his sin. I do not know that he did, and if I had not received such convincing testimony of the gospel my faith might fail but it does not even though he did sin. The bible is my guide and Christ my pattern there is no religion for me except the gospel we believe. . . . If I would tell you other wise I would o how gladly, if neglecting to answer the question would be right I would do that, I have prayed and suffered and can suffer no longer and so tell you what I think the truth is.[727]

Implicit in his approach to his father's involvement with plural marriage then was the fact that his mother never said one way or the other what Joseph Smith taught and practiced concerning it. As David Hyrum Smith said in a postscript that formed a border around the first page of this letter, "the gifts of the gospel prove it true, even if he did miss it in one respect."[728]

Such logic could never be convincing to those in Nauvoo involved, as the Twelve Apostles were, in what Joseph Smith considered the most sacred and capstone blessings of the religion of Jesus Christ. To be sure, the Saints who went west with the Twelve Apostles did not believe Joseph Smith was an infallible prophet. But they could not believe he was a fallen prophet. Those like William Law who could not countenance the doctrine in Nauvoo, accused the Prophet by his own doctrine of being both adulterous and fallen. According to Joseph's own teachings, nothing except murder was a more serious transgression than adultery. Yet the Twelve, and others privy to the Prophet's introduction of these practices, believed his April 1844 prophetic rebuttal to the charges of William Law and others like him. If he was not inspired of God at the end of his ministry in testifying that he was in closer communion with God than at any other time in his life, then when could his inspiration be trusted? How did he know which revelations were true and which were false? Were his greatest revelations--the

revelations in the endowments on how to detect error and how to receive truth--themselves untrue? Could God's prophet be so mistaken when revealing the highest conceivable blessings and ordinances essential to mankind's salvation and exaltation? The Twelve Apostles in 1844 could not answer these questions in any other way than they did. The various aspirants to leadership hurled charges and countercharges. But none of them detracted from the holiness and wholeness of Joseph Smith's work. If he was a prophet in 1830, and his latest revelations were the logical extension of his earliest inspiration, the Twelve Apostles's work was clear: Their lives would thereafter be spent in the apostolic witness of Jesus Christ and His servant, Joseph Smith. Their administration of all of God's ordinances revealed through the Prophet Joseph Smith would be their ultimate witness to and test of counterclaims.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

[1]For a contemporary record of such language, see the Journal of Joseph Fielding published in Andrew F. Ehat, ed., "'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet'--The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," Brigham Young University Studies 19 (Winter 1979): 153 and n57.

[2]Phillip S. Paludan in his essay on "The American Civil War as a Crisis of Law and Order" reasons that violence in pre-Civil War America against Indians, abolitionists, immigrants, Negroes, Mormons, Masons, and even the WASP majority, was not necessarily the opposite of law and order. In each case already-established settlers felt the encroachment by these groups was a threat to their local law and order. The violence was only a manifestation of the persistent vigilante tradition in American society that permitted threatened majorities to use "Higher Law" arguments to justify their violence toward troublesome minorities. See American Historical Review 77 (1972): 1013-34. The most important study of this phenomenon as it relates to the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith is Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, Carthage Conspiracy--The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. xi-xv, 210-16. See also Paul D. Ellsworth, "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith," BYU Studies 20 (Fall 1979): 71-74, where he quotes the studies of Richard M. Brown and W. Eugene Hollon on the nature of ante-bellum civil violence.

[3]See Joseph Smith, History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-51), 5:518, 6:99 (hereafter referred to as History of the Church followed by volume and page number) where Joseph Smith referred to having been vexed by thirty-eight lawsuits by December 1843. By the time of his death seven months later the number increased to over forty.

[4]See The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 112:30-32 (hereafter referred to as D&C, followed by section and verse number). This passage affirms that Paul's prophecy of "the dispensation of the fulness of times" in which God "might gather together all things in Christ" (Ephesians 1:10) was being fulfilled beginning with the calling of Joseph Smith as the prophet of the Restoration.

[5]D&C 21:1; 107:92; and, 127:12.

[6]The standard work on this phase of Joseph Smith's ministry is Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible--A History and Commentary (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975). The original manuscripts of this translation are in the Library-Archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri (hereafter referred to as RLDS Library-Archives), and are published in The Holy Scriptures Containing the Old and New Testaments, An Inspired Revision of the Authorized Version by Joseph Smith, Junior, 2nd ed. rev. (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1944).

[7]History of the Church, 4:293, 296, 309-10; and, 5:12.

[8]In addition to his responsibilities noted above, Joseph Smith was the owner and operator of a mercantile store. His famous "Red Brick Store" was a hub of commercial activity in Nauvoo.

[9]See the Wilford Woodruff report of Joseph Smith's 22 January 1843 discourse in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., The Words of Joseph Smith--The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1980), p. 158, spelling, capitalization and punctuation standardized.

[10]Thomas Gregg, History of Hancock County Illinois (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman & Co., 1880), pp. 296-99, and Donna Hill, Joseph Smith--The First Mormon (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1977), p. 334.

[11]John Carroll Power, History of the Early Settlers Sangamon County, Illinois. "Centennial Record." (Springfield, Illinois: Edwin A. Wilson & Co., 1876), p. 76, and Inventory of the County Archives of Illinois, Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Progress Administration, Sangamon County, no. 83 (Chicago: The Historical Records Survey, April 1939), p. 39.

[12]Hill, Joseph Smith, pp. 324-34.

[13]Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo--Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 308.

[14]Oaks and Hill, Carthage Conspiracy, pp. 210-16.

[15]History of the Church, 6:627.

[16]D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," BYU Studies 16 (Winter 1976): 187-233.

[17]The four priesthood councils referred to are (1) The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, (2) The Quorum of Seventy, (3) The aggregate of the Standing High Councils at the stakes of Zion, and (4) the High Council (see D&C 107: 22-26, 36-37. Cf. Quinn, "Mormon Succession," pp. 187, 212-13).

[18]Ibid., p. 187.

[19]Sidney Rigdon arrived in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the day of the Martyrdom (see Willard Richards, Diary, 7 August 1844, Willard Richards Papers, Library-Archives, the Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter referred to as Church Archives). The whereabouts of Amasa Lyman, and the members of the Quorum of the Twelve, is specifically listed in History of the Church, 7:132-33. The Council of Fifty adjourned "sine die" on 25 April 1844 to "disperse = abroad in the nation" to campaign for the Prophet (see Joseph Smith, Diary, 25 April 1844, Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives). That William Marks was in Nauvoo, see History of the Church, 7:135.

[20]A transcript of this blessing in the hand of Church clerk Thomas Bullock is now in the RLDS Library-Archives. The blessing was discovered among papers of the Bullock family by Mark William Hofmann in early 1981.

[21]Joseph Smith III was born 6 November 1832. That Joseph Smith did not consider his son capable of succeeding him in case he were killed in 1844 is confirmed by a recollection of James Whitehead. To William W. Blair, a member of the First Presidency of the Reorganized Church, Whitehead said in 1874 that "Hyrum was appointed his guardian till he should become of age" (W.W. Blair, Journal, 17 June 1874, RLDS Library-Archives).

[22]The best published analysis to appear regarding Joseph Smith's introduction of these ordinances that made use of previously unpublished contemporaneous sources was D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," BYU Studies 19 (Fall 1978): 82-96. Quinn's groundbreaking study, however, did not discuss the relevance of these ordinances to the question of succession in the Presidency of the Church. In previously published studies of the succession question, the fact that Joseph Smith introduced such ordinances was only illustrative of and not characterized as fundamental to the Twelve Apostles' claim to leadership in 1844.

[23]I must say at the outset of this study (especially to the LDS reader) that I fully recognize the risk it is for me to discuss the subject of temple ordinances and, perhaps, stand in jeopardy of violating the covenants I made in the temple. I have endeavored throughout this study to stay within the bounds of propriety established by Joseph Smith and those who were or are the stewards of such teachings. What they have said in public or have had printed about the ordinances has been my invariable guide in determining the level of description of the temple ordinances I would attempt in this paper. Using this procedure as a guide, I have felt that I have both discussed all that has been necessary for me to establish my thesis in an honest and forthright manner as well as not to introduce any details of the temple ceremonies either gratuitously or to satisfy mere curiosity. To those who have never participated in the temple ceremonies, I have made every attempt--within these stated guidelines--to be as explicit as necessary in order to present my thesis. I hope you will, however,

understand that the covenants I made in the temple I hold sacred, and thus this study cannot make unrequired concessions to Clio. I believe, nevertheless, that all readers can appreciate the importance of the study of succession and how temple ordinances were a critical factor in the 1844 reasoning on the subject. I hope this work justifies such a belief.

[24]Note entries in the William Clayton Diary for July 1844, cited in James B. Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo: William Clayton's Experience in Mormon Illinois," Journal of Mormon History 6 (1979): 57-58 n57.

[25]History of the Church, 4:287-88. This legal instrument was signed by the Prophet, countersigned by Isaac Galland, Robert B. Thompson and John C. Bennett and sworn to before the justice of the peace, Daniel H. Wells.

[26]There seems no reason to believe that this legal instrument was purposefully overlooked. The two immediate contenders for the leadership of the Church following the Martyrdom did not then seek to reestablish a First Presidency. Sidney Rigdon sought to be "guardian to the Church" and as such serve as the leader of the Church without counselors. Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles did not reconstitute the First Presidency until 1847.

[27]Samuel H. Smith lived outside Nauvoo (Clayton, Journal, 2 July 1844 [author's notes]) and William Smith was in the East and did not return to Nauvoo until the spring of 1845.

[28]The surviving children were Joseph III, 11 years old; Frederick Granger Williams, 8 years old; and, Alexander Hale, 6 years old. Emma was at this time pregnant with David Hyrum, who was born in November 1844.

[29]Clayton, Journal, 2 July 1844, cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," pp. 57 n57.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Clayton, Journal, 3 July 1844.

[32]Ibid., 4 July 1844.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 6 July 1844.

[35]Ibid.

[36]History of the Church, 6: 621-22.

[37]History of the Church, 7: 147-48; italics added.

[38]Clayton, Journal, 30 June 1844, cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 58.

[39]Ronald K. Esplin, "Life in Nauvoo, June 1844: Vilate Kimball's Martyrdom Letters," BYU Studies 19 (Winter 1979): 238.

[40]Ibid., pp. 238-39.

[41]Sally Randall to "Dear Friends," 1 July 1844, typescript, Church Archives.

[42]Clayton, Journal; 28 June 1844, punctuation added.

[43]Ibid., 7 July 1844.

[44]Ibid.; italics added.

[45]Ibid., 8 July 1844.

[46]Ibid., 12 July 1844. Bracketed in words are merely obvious tense changes of the present tense verbs.

[47]Ibid., 2 July 1844.

[48]Ibid., 12 July 1844.

[49]Ibid. See also Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Edited by Parley P. Pratt Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1938), p. 335.

[50]Willard Richards, Journal, 8 July 1844, Church Archives.

[51]Ibid., 12 July 1844, and Clayton, Journal, 12 July 1844.

[52]Clayton, Journal, 12 July 1844.

[53]Ibid., 14 July 1844. See also Willard Richards, Journal, same date.

[54]Entries from Clayton's Journal for 6, 12, 14, and 15 July 1844 reflect this situation.

[55]Ibid., 12 July 1844.

[56]An overview investigation of the Quorum may be found in Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," pp. 83-89.

[57]Helaman 10:4-10; emphasis added.

[58]The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), Moses 1:25-26.

[59]Ibid., Moses 6:32, 34.

[60]The Holy Scriptures, Genesis 14: 26-32.

[61]Sometime between 6 and 18 April 1845, three years after receiving the ordinances, Willard Richards, Church Historian, was preparing the 4 May 1842 entry for the draft of the "Manuscript History of the Church." Richards had been relying on the Prophet's journal entitled the "Law of the Lord" in compiling the 1841 and 1842 portions of the History of the Church. Because he was a participant in the events of 4 and 5 May 1842, he was able to expand the original entry of the Prophet's into the form as cited at note 73. Within two weeks, Richards's draft was recorded in the "Manuscript History of the Church" by church clerk, Thomas Bullock. This entry is published in History of the Church, 5:1-2.

[62]History of the Church, 5:2.

[63]The Pearl of Great Price, Joseph Smith--History 1:68-74; or, History of the Church, 1:39-41.

[64]"Book of Anointings," p. 2, Nauvoo Temple Records Collection, Church Archives.

[65]Lucius N. Scovil letter to Editor in "Higher Ordinances," Deseret News Semi-Weekly (15 February 1884): 2.

[66] Dimick B. Huntington, Statement, 12 December 1878, Zina Y. Card Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, BYU. I am grateful to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher for bringing this source to my attention. A general description of the interior of and the ordinances performed in a temple may be found in Heber C. Kimball, Diary, kept by William Clayton, 11 December 1845, Church Archives. For an authorized published description and definition of the function of the separate ordinance rooms in a temple, see James E. Talmage, The House of the Lord (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967), pp. 83-84, 99-100, and 156-61.

[67]Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 18 December 1857, Church Archives (hereafter referred to as Journal History).

[68]Minutes of Meeting of the Nauvoo High Priest's Quorum, 26 January 1845, and Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 21 December 1845 (address of George A. Smith), both in the Church Archives.

[69]See published extract of the minutes of the Nauvoo High Priest's Quorum meeting held 26 January 1845, cited in History of the Church, 7:364.

[70]George Miller to James J. Strang, 26 June 1855, cited in H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," Annual Publications--Historical Society of Southern California 10 (Los Angeles: McBride Printing Company, 1917): 120-21.

[71]L. John Nuttall, Diary, 7 February 1877, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[72]Ibid. Joseph Fielding, one who received the endowment ordinances from Joseph Smith on 9 December 1843 and witnessed the administration of these ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple, evaluated just how well Brigham and the Twelve Apostles did in carrying out Joseph's precise instructions: "On Friday, the 12th [of December 1845] I and my Wife received our Endowment having formerly received it in the Days of Joseph and Hyram [sic] but it is now given in a more perfect Manner because of better Convenience [that is, in the Nauvoo Temple they had two-and-one-half times more floor space than they had in The Red Brick Store], the 12 are very strict in attending to the true and proper form . . . ministering in the Temple and teaching the way of Life and Salvation" (Ehat, "The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 158-59).

[73]Draft sheet of the "Manuscript History of the Church," in the hand of Willard Richards, 4 May 1842, Historian's Office Church Records Group, Church Archives.

[74]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 2 December 1843, Wilford Woodruff Collection, Church Archives. When Willard Richards (in April 1845) and Brigham Young (on 1 November 1843) said that the endowment anointings "pertained" or gave one "admittance" to the "highest order" of priesthood, both knew that their language should not be construed to mean that by the endowment alone the fulness had been conferred. To be sure, the endowment ordinances conveyed the covenants and the crucial keys to achieving the highest priesthood order. But, they both knew that the "anointing and ordination to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood" was not first conferred until 28 September 1843 (Joseph Smith, Diary, 28 September 1843, Church Archives). Note also concept four in this list. See text of paper after note 235 until note 249, where sources are cited that show that both Brigham Young and Willard Richards clearly understood Joseph Smith's distinction on this very point.

[75]Nancy M. Tracy, "Autobiography [Life and Travels of Nancy M. Tracy]," The Woman's Exponent 38 (November 1909): 39-40.

[76]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 116.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid., pp. 116-17.

[79]"Law of the Lord" entry for 28 April 1842, cited in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 119. Cf. draft sheet of "Manuscript History of the Church," for 28 April 1842, Church Archives.

[80]"Law of the Lord" entry for 1 May 1842, cited in Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 119-20. Cf. draft sheet of "Manuscript History of the Church," for 1 May 1842, Church Archives.

[81]Bathsheba W. Smith, "Recollections of Joseph Smith," Juvenile Instructor 27 (1 June 1892): 345.

[82]By request of Joseph F. Smith, sixth President of the LDS Church, Bathsheba W. Smith made these remarks on 12 June 1903, and they are reported in "A Notable Event--The Weber Stake Reunion," Deseret Evening News (23 June 1903).

[83]"Minutes of Meetings Held in Provo City," 28 November 1869, Microfilm of holograph, Microfilm Reading Room, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[84]Messenger and Advocate [Kirtland, Ohio] 1 (July 1835): 156-58, (October 1835): 197-99.

[85]D&C 50:30-35.

[86]Joseph Smith taught that Adam was called by the name Michael in his pre-earth life before he was in the Garden of Eden. Thus Adam's intervention in c1829 was similar to an encounter Moses had with Satan (see Jude 9). Joseph Smith in 1839 taught that whenever "the Keys have to be brought from heaven . . . they are revealed . . . by Adams authority" (Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 8). Thus, Adam became a conspicuous person in the "ancient order." According to Joseph Smith, if Adam did not personally reveal the ordinances, he would send messengers who would teach his posterity the endowment counsels that would lead them in the way of life and salvation.

[87]Wilford Woodruff report of 27 June 1839 discourse of Joseph Smith, cited in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 6.

[88]Ibid., p. 44.

[89]James 1:5-6.

[90]His personal testimony of this event was included in his official history (see History of the Church, 1:3-8, or Joseph Smith--History 1:5-17).

[91]Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 1:131.

[92]D&C 3. Specifically, Martin Harris, a close associate with Joseph Smith, wished to strengthen his wife's faith in the work of translation in which he and Joseph were engaged. Harris asked Joseph Smith to inquire of the Lord to see if he could show the manuscript to his family. According to Joseph's account, the Lord said "no" to two requests. But after a third request, the desired answer was obtained. When Harris subsequently lost the manuscript, Joseph Smith for a time lost his gift of translation (D&C 10).

[93]D&C 3:4, 9.

[94]D&C 50:29-30.

[95]Joseph Smith--History 1:35, and History of the Church, 1:15-16.

[96]Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, 1:130.

[97]A Book of Commandments, for the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized according to law, on the 6th of April, 1830 (Zion [Independence, Missouri]: W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833), chapter 7, verse 3.

[98]Ibid., chapter 8, verse 3.

[99]Salt Lake [City] School of the Prophets Minute Book, 1883, p. 69 [under date of 11 October 1883], Church Archives.

[100]"James Amasa Little, ed., "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," Utah Historical Quarterly 14 (1946): 45.

[101]Clayton, Journal, 15 June 1844.

[102]Charles C. Rich, Address given 10 February 1878, Paris, Idaho Stake Quarterly Conference, Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (London: Latter-Day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886), 19:250.

[103]Orson Pratt's footnotes first appeared in the 1879 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

[104]D&C 124:103-10, where Sidney Rigdon's blessings are detailed, makes no reference that Sidney should receive the "keys whereby he may ask and receive." Though Sidney Rigdon later received these instructions before the Prophet's death, it was not with Joseph Smith's approval. (Wilford Woodruff statement in his 11 October 1844 letter to the editor of The Prophet [New York City], reprinted in the Times and Seasons 5 [1 November 1844]: 698).

[105]Bennett, who on 8 April 1841 would become an Assistant President of the Church as a temporary stand-in for the ailing Sidney Rigdon, is referred to in D&C 124:16-17.

[106]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 61.

[107]Ibid., p. 64.

[108]Ibid., p. 67.

[109]Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842, Church Archives.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Ibid.

[112]Mervin B. Hogan, ed., The Founding Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge (Des Moines, Iowa: Research Lodge No. 2, n.d.), shows that Shadrach Roundy, Noah Rogers, Dimick B. Huntington, Daniel Carns, Lucius N. Scovil, and Hosea Stout were members of the Lodge.

[113]Ibid., p. 28. They also attended the lodge meeting held the day after the endowment was first administered.

[114]Newton Bateman, ed., Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois 2 vols. (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1912), 2:997.

[115]H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," p. 91.

[116]Hogan, Founding Minutes, p. 8.

[117]Stanley B. Kimball, Heber C. Kimball--Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1981), p. 12.

[118]Hogan, Founding Minutes, p. 9.

[119]Ibid., pp. 15, 21, and 24.

[120]Ehat, "The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 145, 147.

[121]Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life's Review (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), p. 96.

[122]The publication of the Book of Abraham began with the 1 March 1842 issue of the Times and Seasons.

[123]The Pearl of Great Price, The Book of Abraham, Facsimile 1, figures 1 and 2.

[124]Edward H. Ashment has argued that the facsimiles contain logical, but inaccurate restorations (see "The Book of Abraham Facsimiles: A Reappraisal," Sunstone 4 [December 1979]: 33-48).

[125]Book of Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 3.

[126]Book of Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 7.

[127]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 382.

[128]Ibid., pp. 381-82.

[129]See The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), s.v. "Baptism," and "Extreme Unction."

[130]Ibid., s.v. "Holy Orders." See also Marcus Von Wellnitz, "The Catholic Liturgy and the Mormon Temple," BYU Studies 21 (Winter 1981): 3-35.

[131]When in 1838 enemies of the Church threatened the Saints in Missouri in 1838, Joseph Smith encouraged the brethren to form groups for organized protection. Called "Danites," they hoped that by a show of numbers they would forestall armed aggression. However, within these ranks emerged a man named Sampson Avard, who administered oaths of secrecy and set up an inner group intent on preemptive activities, including stealing from the non-Mormons. When some leaders in high standing in the Church disaffected and claimed that Joseph Smith had established this abberrant form of "Danitism," Missouri's pent-up wrath was finally unleashed. Escaping Governor Boggs's "extermination order" that came as a consequence, and while Joseph Smith and a few others languished in jail the winter of 1838-1839, thousands of the Saints took flight to western Illinois.

Learning from the Missouri experience, the Saints sought permission from the state government to establish a Legion in Nauvoo. Their request was granted under the provisions of the Nauvoo City Charter by the Illinois State legislature in 1840. This time the Saints' militia was a legitimately authorized body, outfitted by the state and made up of local citizens. Nevertheless, rumors that within the Nauvoo Legion existed an inner circle of oath-bound "avenging angels" who would obey implicitly any of Joseph Smith's commands (whether legal or illegal) continued to plague the Saints. John C. Bennett tried to exploit these rumors in his description of the Mormon endowment ceremony. (See Nauvoo City Council Minutes, 3 January 1844, Church Archives, and John C. Bennett, The History of the Saints; or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism [Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842], pp. 272-78).

[132]Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet 2d ed. rev. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 280-81.

[133]Bennett, History of the Saints, pp. 272-75.

[134]Ibid., pp. 275-77.

[135]Bennett here is quite inaccurate. The participants in the endowment ordinances received a specially marked undergarment they were to wear at all times, and then they were also instructed to mark their shirts in a similar manner and wear the shirt (in addition to the garment) when they wore a coat that covered the sacred emblems. This practice was continued until 1894 when a change was authorized by the First Presidency of the Church based on the fact that Joseph Smith never required individuals to wear the marked shirts at all times (for example, when sleeping). However, since most twentieth century Latter-day Saints were unaware of this practice, some have recently popularized the notion that the original garment was two piece, mistaking shirts that were marked for garments. Naturally, men would keep on hand for work purposes one or more shirts that were not marked so they would not indescriminately expose the special markings to view.

[136]Heber C. Kimball, Diary, 21 December 1845, Church Archives.

[137]Bennett, History of the Saints, pp. 273, 377-78.

[138]Kimball, Diary, 21 December 1845; Journal History, 24 July 1869; "To Dr. Willard Richards," Times and Seasons 5 (15 August 1844): 623; Oliver B. Huntington, Journal, 22 April 1897, BYU Special Collections typescript, BYU Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and, Brigham Young, Address, 26 February 1870, "Minutes of Meetings held in Provo City," Microfilm reading room, Lee Library, BYU.

[139]John C. Bennett, "Letter # 3," Sangamo Journal (15 July 1842): 2.

[140]Bennett, History of the Saints, pp. 247-48.

[141]This seems a likely scenario. Sidney Rigdon, William Marks and William Law shared similar feelings regarding Bennett's "spiritual wifery" business.

[142]Armed with affidavits and certificates, and under the direction of the Twelve Apostles, special missionaries went throughout the states disproving Bennett's allegations (James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976], p. 191).

[143]History of the Church, 3:175.

[144]Bennett, History of the Saints, pp. 281-82.

[145]History of the Church, 5:3-245, passim.

[146]Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[147]Ibid., p. 45.

[148]Ibid., p. 45-46.

[149]The report of the Brigham Young address is in Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 9 April 1844 (spelling corrected). See also Joseph Smith Discourse, 10 March 1844, cited in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 331.

[150]While it is generally understood that the term "spiritual wifery" was used only to identify corrupt forms of plural marriage, there is evidence that Joseph Smith used the term to describe marriages that were for time and eternity (see, for example, Times and Seasons 5 [15 November 1844]: 715).

[151]See chapter 7 of Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith," (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975). Bachman cites the Nauvoo High Council minutes for cases involving Bennett's version of "spiritual wifery."

[152]See 24, 25, 27 May 1842; and 21 January 1843 "Minutes of the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Nauvoo Illinois," Church Archives.

[153]Ibid., 26 November 1842.

[154]Not only did Hyrum Smith attend meetings of the High Council when they met on 20, 24, 25, and 27 May 1842 to consider cases of sexual transgression Bennett had caused, but also the meetings of 19, 26 November 1842; and 21, 28 January 1843, 18, 19 February 1843; and 25 March 1843 (Nauvoo High Council Minutes, under dates given).

[155]Brigham Young, Address, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

[156]Ibid.

[157]Jerusha Barden Smith died 13 October 1837 (History of the Church, 2:519).

[158]Hyrum Smith in April 1844 claimed that God did not reveal this order until after Jerusha died. (In fact, based on what he said, the concept of eternal marriage was not taught to him until after the concept of proxy ordinance work was announced 15 August 1840.) Hyrum said that when his brother Joseph mentioned the possibility that he could be sealed to his first wife by proxy he was immediately concerned about the eternal relationship he would have with his second wife, Mary Fielding. Joseph's announcement that she too could be sealed to him was rejected: "I would not bear it," Hyrum was later quoted as saying (Hyrum Smith, Address, 8 April 1844, Thomas Bullock Report, Church Archives; and, Brigham Young, Address, 8 October 1866, Church Archives).

[159]Levi Richards, Diary, 14 May 1843, Church Archives. William Law also used Jacob 2 in his campaign against the Prophet's teachings on plural marriage (see Ehat, "The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 154). George A. Smith observed that when Joseph Smith was confronted with this passage from the Book of Mormon, the Prophet would cite the passage in that chapter that said, "For if it will, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people. . . ." (Jacob 2:30), and follow this by saying, "God has commanded us" (George A. Smith to Joseph Smith III, 9 October 1869, Historian's Office Letterpress Copybooks, Church Archives).

[160]Levi Richards, Diary, 14 May 1843.

[161]Joseph Smith, Address, 21 May 1843, Willard Richards account recorded in Joseph Smith, Diary, cited in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 205.

[162]Ibid., p. 207.

[163]Ibid., p. 208.

[164]Clayton, Journal, 23 May 1843.

[165]Entries for 7, 9 February 1843; 27 April 1843; 12, 17 July 1843; and 18 August 1843 confirm that Clayton's references to "priesthood" were his innocuous but fairly transparent synonym for "plural marriage." The 23 May entry shows that while Hyrum was a member of the "Quorum," he was not a member of the "secret priesthood." Moreover, William Clayton, who had been an initiate to the "secret priesthood" for three months, would not become a member of the "Quorum" until February 1844. These two facts show, therefore, that Clayton was referring to plural marriage when he mentioned "priesthood" in these contexts.

[166]All quotations of Hyrum Smith and Brigham Young are from the 8 October 1866 address of Brigham Young, Church Archives (emphasis added).

[167]It is supposed by many that Bennett was only an indolent rogue and a master of chicanery. In fact, Bennett did have considerable talent (see biographical sketches of Bennett in Hill, Joseph Smith—The First Mormon, p. 279, and Lyndon W. Cook, The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith--A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants [Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981], p. 253).

[168]Rachel Ridgeway Ivins, "[Recollection of] Joseph Smith, The Prophet," Young Woman's Journal 16 (December 1905): 551.

[169]Brigham Young, Address, 8 October 1866 (spelling corrected and punctuation added).

[170]Even Bennett confirms this in History of the Saints, p. 276.

[171]In addition to the materials quoted as notes 78 and 79 earlier in this paper, see also Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 137 n4 and 141 n13. Emma Smith was identified as "Elect Lady" in an 1830 revelation, but Joseph Smith taught that her appointment on 17 March 1842 as Relief Society President of the Church was a fulfillment of that charge (Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 105).

[172]"Incidents of the early life of Emily Dow Partridge," written beginning December 1876, finished 7 January 1877, BYU Special Collections. For the most important information to come to light on the Joseph and Emma relationship vis a vis plural marriage, see James B. Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," pp. 44-45, 52.

[173]Joseph Smith, Diary, kept by Willard Richards, 21 May 1843, Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives.

[174]Ibid., 23 May 1843.

[175]See, Bachman, chapter 4, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage," pp. 104-43.

[176]History of the Church, 5:44-46, 84, and 250.

[177]Joseph Smith, Diary, 26 May 1843.

[178]Ibid., 28 May 1843.

[179]Ibid., 29 May 1843.

[180]Sam[ue]l Taylor, An Essay Intended to Establish A Standard for an Universal System of Stenography or Short Hand Writing (London: J. Bell, 1786).

[181]Charles A. Shook, The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1914), pp. 124-29, and Joseph Smith, Diary, 26 May 1843.

[182]My reasons for this assertion are as follows: Willard Richards in his diary for 3 October 1845 records: "Prest young [illegible] me to [illegible] time & all E/y - about 5. P.M.". Using Taylor shorthand, this transcribes as follows [(v) stands for vowel]: "Prest young mrd me to S(v)r(v) Lngst(v)rth f time & all Etrny about 5.P.M." This clearly reads that President Brigham Young married Willard Richards and Sarah Longstroth for time and all eternity. No other shorthand would ever have given such a uniquely Mormon transcription. The symbol () used in the 3 October 1845 entry is also used in both the 28 and 29 May 1843 meetings and clearly means the word "married." Therefore transcribes "were married."

Next, notice (in reverse order) the names given in the two entries in Joseph Smith's diary. Beginning with the entry of 29 May, Joseph Smith and James Adams are not involved in additional marriage ceremonies that day and therefore did not receive plural wives during that meeting. Heber C. Kimball and Newel K. Whitney had much earlier been sealed to their first wives and were only witnesses to the proceedings of both days (a remarkable coincidence if plural marriages were involved). The only woman mentioned in either day's entry, Mercy R. Thompson, was unquestionably married to someone on this day. However, according to her own account, she was not sealed to Hyrum Smith as his first plural wife until 11 August 1843 (Mercy R. Thompson, "Centennial" Statement, Church Archives). If she were relying on memory alone for her date of the sealing, it might be possible that she was mistaken. But it is not as likely that she would forget that it was in the room of her sister (Hyrum's wife) in the Hyrum Smith home where the plural sealing took place (Mercy R. Thompson deposition, Eighth Circuit Court Testimony, 1892, Church Archives). However, Brigham Young's diary confirms that the 28 and 29 May 1843 meetings took place in Joseph Smith's "Old Homestead" and not Hyrum Smith's home. Willard Richards's first plural wife, Susannah Liptrot, was not sealed to him until 12 June 1843 (shorthand transcription of entries in both the Joseph Smith and Willard Richards diaries for date given, Church Archives). Brigham Young, according to Joseph Smith's statement to George A. Smith (George A. Smith to Joseph Smith III, 9 October 1869, Church Archives), by the beginning of May 1844, had three plural wives. The dates of those

sealings are known: 14 June 1842 (Lucy Decker) and 2 November 1843 (Harriet Cook and Augusta Adams). Therefore each person involved in the activities of 29 May 1843 were being sealed to their living and dead "nonplural" spouses. Continuing to take the names in reverse order, let us now consider the marriages performed on 28 May 1843. The only plural wife ever sealed to James Adams on the temple and other records (Rosena R. Adams) was sealed to him on 11 July 1843. Finally, Joseph Smith claimed that he never taught the doctrine of plural marriage in a meeting of the "~~highest~~ [sic] anointed in the Church in private" (i.e. the endowment council) ("[Nauvoo] City Council Minutes," 10 June 1844, p. 25, Church Archives). That he taught the "anointed" these concepts outside these meetings is undeniable; however, he apparently decided early on not to teach plural marriage in endowment council meetings (which the 28/29 May 1843 meetings were) so he could have such a ~~rhetorical~~ "denial" when pressed closely about the practice of plural marriage in the Church. There can be no question then that 28 May 1843 was the sealing date of Joseph and Emma Smith. No women are mentioned in these entries (except for Mercy Thompson, who was the only one being sealed only to a dead spouse) because they were not as yet members of the endowment council and were being sealed, like all other women before this, without having received the endowment ordinances. However, these were the first women to receive these ordinances in connection with a meeting of the endowment council and in an endowment council meeting. These reasons taken together place beyond reasonable doubt that the sealings, as I have stated them, took place on 28/29 May 1843. Unless otherwise noted, biographical data is based on entries given in the History of the Church. Joseph Smith (born 23 December 1805) and Emma Hale (10 July 1804) were married 18 January 1827. James Adams (24 January 1783) and Harriet Denton (31 January 1787) were married about 1809: Power, Early Settlers of Sangamon County, p. 76. Brigham Young (1 June 1801) and Miriam Works (7 June 1824) were married 8 October 1824, and she died 8 September 1832. Brigham Young and Mary Ann Angell (8 June 1803) were married 31 March 1834. Hyrum Smith (9 February 1800) and Jerusha Barden (15 February 1805) were married 2 November 1826. She died 13 October 1837. Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding (21 July 1801) were married 24 December 1837: Pearson H. Corbett, Hyrum Smith--Patriarch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971), pp. 33, 164. Willard Richards (24 June 1804) and Jennetta Richards (21 August 1817) were married 22 September 1838: Joseph Fielding, Diary, 22 September 1838, vol. 2, p. 18, Church Archives. Robert Blashel Thompson (1 October 1811) and Mercy Rachel Fielding (15 June 1807) were married 4 June 1837. He died 27 August 1841. She remained a widow until sealed to Hyrum Smith 11 August 1843: Smith "40 Affidavits" Book 1, p. 34, The Historical Record 6 (1887): 229.

I must extend gratitude to LaJean Purcell, formerly a cataloger in the Harold B. Lee Library, for identifying that the 28/29 May 1843 entries were in Taylor shorthand. Her preliminary transcriptions were critical to my fleshing-out of the shorthand and, consequently, the interpretations presented here. When I brought these shorthand entries to the attention of Ronald K. Esplin and Richard L. Anderson, they requested that I supply her with these entries since her work was under their supervision and was being funded under a grant from the former

History Division, the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the BYU Church History Department.

[183]John C. Bennett to James G. Edwards, 28 October 1843, "Letter from Gen. Bennett," The Hawk-Eye [Burlington, Iowa] (7 December 1843): 1, italics in the original. I am very grateful to Lyndon W. Cook for sharing with me this item.

[184]Two copies of the 27 July 1842 revelation (written in the same hand) were donated by Newel K. Whitney's grandson, Orson F. Whitney, 1 April 1912 to Joseph F. Smith and were at that time placed in the Church Historian's Office. They are presently on file in the Church Archives vault. Orson F. Whitney, when making this donation, retained the original "for the reason that it contains other matters [not mentioned in the copy] of interest to the Whitney family." Apparently some time later the original also was donated and retained in the Church Historian's Office, but is now not part of its files. See Letterpress copy of Orson F. Whitney to Joseph F. Smith, 1 April 1912, Orson F. Whitney Papers, BYU Special Collections. Kenneth W. Godfrey in his "Causes of Mormon-Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967), describes the manuscript of the revelation different from the presently retained copies, though the text is the same. Apparently the copy Godfrey saw was the original.

[185]Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), pp. 321-24, 439-40, and John M. Whitaker, Journal, 1 November 1890, vol. 7, p. 11, John M. Whitaker Papers, Western Americana, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[186]Additional notes accompanying Revelation, 27 July 1842, Revelations Collection, Church Archives.

[187]Rhoda Richards, Diary, 16 April 1843, cited in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 199.

[188]Ibid., pp. 195-96.

[189]Ibid., pp. 232-33.

[190]See affidavits of Thomas Grover, David Fullmer, and Leonard Soby, in Historical Record, 6:226-28; Affidavit of Almira W. Johnson, 1 August 1883, and Statement of Gideon Carter, 27 February 1893, both in the Affidavits collection, Church Archives; and Affidavits of Ebenezer and Angeline Robinson, 29 December 1873, and Affidavit of Ebenezer Robinson, 23 October 1885, both cited in Shook, True Origin of Mormon Polygamy, p. 164.

[191]Dean R. Zimmerman, I Knew the Prophets--An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1976), p. 43.

[192]D&C 124:94-96.

[193]D&C 124:124.

[194]"Minutes of Meetings Held in Provo City," 17 November 1867, Microfilm Reading Room, Lee Library, BYU; Whitney, Heber C. Kimball, pp. 321-24, 439-40; John M. Whitaker, Journal, 1 November 1890; and "Minutes of a meeting of the First Presidency, Apostles & Pres of stakes held at Pres Taylor's office S L City Oct 14, 1882," L. John Nuttall Collection, Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU.

[195]Ibid.

[196]Joseph Smith, Diary, 12 April 1843, and History of the Church, 5:353-54.

[197]Mary A. S. Winters, "Mothers in Israel," The Relief Society Magazine 3 (October 1916): 580-81. The date given in this reminiscence is 4 July 1843. However, this is an error. The date of the pleasure excursion to Fort Madison, Burlington, and Skokokon was 9 May 1843 (Joseph Smith, Diary, under date given). I am grateful to Steve Pratt, who in our discussions of these sources, greatly aided me in formulating this hypothesis.

[198]Ibid., p. 580.

[199]Ibid., pp. 580-81.

[200]William Leary, Notes, 1 January 1888, pp. 2-3, photocopy of holograph, BYU Archives and Manuscripts.

[201]Joseph Smith, Diary, 13 June 1843.

[202]Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 27-29 June 1843, Heber C. Kimball Family Papers, Church Archives.

[203]Ibid.

[204]Ibid.

[205]"Family Record of Parley Parker Pratt," entry dated 11 March 1850, microfilm of holograph, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[206]History of the Church, 5: 446.

[207]Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 27-29 June 1843.

[208]Ibid.

[209]Erastus Snow, Address, 17 June 1883, St. George Stake General Meeting Minutes, Church Archives.

[210]Clayton, Journal, 17 May 1843.

[211]Ibid., 23 June 1843.

[212]Brigham Young to William Smith, 9 August 1845, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

[213]Ibid.

[214]Clayton, Journal, 17 July 1843.

[215]Mary A. S. Winters, "Mothers in Israel," The Relief Society Magazine 3 (November 1916): 643.

[216] Perhaps Joseph Smith wanted Mary Ann and Olive Frost to be his wives in eternity. It appears, however, that in July 1843, Mary Ann wished to be with her former husband, Mr. Stearns. (See Woodruff, Journal, 21 January 1844, cited in text at note 420).

[217]Clayton, Journal, 12 July 1843, cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 52. See also William Clayton, "Testimony," 16 February 1874, Church Archives (published in The Historical Record 6 [1887]: 224-26).

[218]While Hyrum Smith's and William Law's affidavits are both long, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball use only a few words to counter minute details of Bennett's allegations. Joseph Smith does not sign any denials of the "true system" of plural marriage. (See Affidavits and Certificates Disproving the Statements and Affidavits Contained in John C. Bennett's Letters, Nauvoo, Ill., August 31, 1842.)

[219]Richard S. Law, a son of William Law, later recalled an interview Joseph Smith had with William Law regarding the practice of plural marriage. Richard Law related that his father "with tears streaming from his eyes" and "with his arms around the neck of the Prophet, was pleading with him to withdraw the doctrine of plural marriage. . . . The Prophet was also in tears, but he informed [William] that he could not withdraw the doctrine, for God had commanded him to teach it, and condemnation would come upon him if he was not obedient to the commandment" (Joseph W. McMurrin, "An Interesting Testimony," The Improvement Era 6 [May 1903]: 507-510).

[220]This will be discussed in further detail later in this study.

[221]Alexander Neibaur, Journal, 24 May 1844, Church Archives, and Clayton, Journal, 12 June 1844. Even William Law's side of the story suggests that this was the starting point of their difficulties. (See 18 April 1844 Minutes of William Law's excommunication trial, Brigham Young Papers. The Neibaur Journal entry and a summary of these trial minutes may be found in Ehat, "The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 147 n34).

[222]From statements extant detailing why Joseph Smith did not seal William and Jane Law as husband and wife for time and eternity, one cannot infer that Joseph Smith ever explained to William Law why he refused to seal them.

[223]Neibaur, Journal, 24 May 1844.

[224]Of the nine who received the endowment on 4 May 1842, neither William Law, William Marks, nor Hyrum Smith had accepted the doctrine of plural marriage. In fact, with the possible exception of Heber C. Kimball, not one of the nine had entered the practice of plural marriage. Moreover, at the time, Newel K. Whitney, George Miller, John Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, Orson Spencer, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, William W. Phelps, Isaac Morley, and Orson Pratt received the fulness of the priesthood ordinances (where, in the case of this the highest temple ordinance, they were told that they had passed the test of obedience and were worthy of an unconditional assurance of their eternal salvation), not one of these men had entered the practice of plural marriage. Perhaps this is why Brigham Young later said that a "man may embrace the law of Celestial Marriage in his heart & not take the sec[o]nd wife & be justified before the Lord" (Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 24 September 1871).

[225]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 212.

[226]Since women did not receive temple ordinances during the Kirtland period, the ordinances performed during that period cannot be considered to be a part of Mormon salvational theology. These temple ordinances were, nevertheless not only significant but also essential to the priesthood in the performance of their ecclesiastical mission for the Church. The endowment ordinances and the attendant spiritual outpouring were considered crucial components of the divine witness missionaries would have to have in order to spread effectively and convincingly the message of salvation. (That women did not receive these blessings, see George A. Smith, Address, 18 March 1855, Journal of Discourses, 2: 215.)

[227]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 212-13.

[228]Ibid., p. 213.

[229]Ibid.

[230]Ibid., p. 212. See also D&C 121:26-32, where Joseph Smith predicted that in the "dispensation of the fulness of times" "nothing shall be withheld whether there be one God or many gods, they shall be manifest."

[231]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 210.

[232]Ibid., p. 215.

[233]Ibid., p. 232.

[234]Ibid., p. 233.

[235]Ibid.

[236]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 6 August 1843.

[237]Ibid. Later reminiscences of the 4 May 1842 anointings do not, however, make this precise of a distinction. In each case, these later reminiscences were written after each had received the fulness of the priesthood ordinances. It appears that the authors of these reminiscences were disinterested in being that precise in their language usage. For example, Heber C. Kimball's 1845 reminiscence of his 1842 endowment incorrectly dates the month of reception as June rather than May. At a later time (perhaps while hearing a reading of the manuscript of the "History of the Church") his memory was refreshed so that when he spoke in the Nauvoo Temple on 21 December 1845 he accurately reported that it was in May of 1842 (and not June 1842) when he received his endowment (Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 21 December 1845, Church Archives).

[238]Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 26 December 1845; italics added.

[239]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 242. The passage of scripture referred to is found in Revelation 7:3.

[240]Ibid., pp. 5, 200-202, and 204, and sources cited in pp. 17-18 n6, and 19 n11.

[241]Ibid., p. 5, and sources cited in p. 19 n15.

[242]History of the Church, 5:2. See discussion in this paper at note 73.

[243]See discussion at notes 57-60 in this paper.

[244]The Conference Minutes and Record Book of Christ's Church of Latter Day Saints, Belonging to the High Council of said church, of their successors in office, Caldwell County, Missouri. Far West: April 6, 1838 [commonly called "The Far West Record"] 25 October 1831, microfilm of holograph, Church Archives.

[245]Parley P. Pratt, "Proclamation," The Latter Day Saints Millennial Star 5 (March 1845): 152.

[246]Times and Seasons 4 (1 February 1843): 84.

[247]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, text at notes 13-20 of the 10 March 1844 discourse of Joseph Smith, pp. 329-30.

[248]For six versions of the 27 August 1843 address of Joseph Smith, see Ibid., pp. 243-48.

[249]Ibid., p. 244.

[250]Ibid., p. 246.

[251]Ibid.

[252]Ibid., p. 245.

[253]Ibid., p. 244.

[254]Ibid., p. 247; punctuation added.

[255]D. Michael Quinn, "Mormon Succession," p. 199.

[256]Manuscript History of the Church, cited by Quinn, "Mormon Succession," p. 199.

[257]Joseph Smith, Diary, 3 April 1836, Church Archives; or, D&C 110:11-16. For a discussion of the relationship of this event and the bestowal of temple ordinances during the Nauvoo period, see text of this paper between notes 485 and 500.

[258]D&C 124:91-96.

[259]See text between notes 76 and 109.

[260]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 329.

[261]For example, William Law said he did not know firsthand of the practice of plural marriage until after the revelation was recorded (12 July 1843). (See Shook, True Origin of Mormon Polygamy, p. 126.)

[262]History of the Church, 5:527-28, and the affidavits of Thomas Grover and David Fullmer, printed in Jenson, Historical Record, 6:226-27.

[263]Clayton, Journal, 16 August 1843.

[264]Ibid., cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 45n.

[265]Clayton, Journal, 23, 24, and 26 July 1843.

[266]Ibid., 16 August 1843, cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 45n.

[267]Quotations are from a signed statement by Maria Jane Woodward attached to George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 21 April 1902, Incoming Correspondence, Joseph F. Smith Papers, Church Archives. I am grateful to Buddy Youngreen for bringing this source to my attention.

[268]William Law, "Record of Doings at Nauvoo in 1844," undated entry after 28 June 1844 entry, in private custody. I am extremely grateful to Lyndon W. Cook for his generosity in permitting me to use his copy of this significant diary.

[269]Clayton, Journal, 19 October 1843, cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 45n.

[270]Ibid.

[271]Clayton, Journal, 27 April, 13, 18 August 1843.

[272]Emma received with her husband on 28 September 1843 the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood. Since other women who were initiated into the endowment three days later did not receive the anointings of the fulness of the priesthood until they received them on a separate occasion with their husbands, it is apparent that Joseph Smith made certain that the first ordinances were administered the same for both women and men, and always preceding the highest anointings.

[273]My transcription of the shorthand entry in Joseph Smith, Diary, 28 September 1843, reads as follows: "11 1/2 A.M. in Council over the Store. Hyrum, Newell, Geo. M., Wa[she]d. & An[oi]nt[e]d J[ohn]. S[mith]., J[ohn]. T[aylor]., A[masa]. L[yman]., L[ucien]. W[oodworth]., J[ohn]. M. B[ernhisel]."

[274]Joseph Smith, Diary, 28 September 1843.

[275]Ibid. W. W. Blair recorded James Whitehead's recollection that "Wm Marks and Hyrum, by command of God ordained Joseph King & Priest" (Blair, Diary, 17 June 1874, RLDS Library-Archives).

[276]Joseph Smith, Diary, 27 August 1843.

[277]Ibid., 3 September 1843.

[278]Ibid., 11 September 1843.

[279]Journal History, 18 December 1857.

[280]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 156.

[281]Elizabeth A. Whitney, "A Leaf from An Autobiography," The Woman's Exponent 7 (15 December 1878): 105.

[282]Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842 (quoted at notes 109-11 of this paper).

[283]Clayton, Journal, 21 November 1843.

[284]Ibid.

[285]Ibid., 2 December 1843.

[286]Ibid., 5 December 1843.

[287]Ibid.

[288]Ibid., 22 January 1844, partially cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 48.

[289]Clayton Journal, 25 January 1844.

[290]Ibid., 3 February 1844, partially cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 48.

[291]History of the Church, 4: 608; Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," pp. 120-21; Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 116; Bathsheba W. Smith, "Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," p. 245; Lucius N. Scovil, letter to Deseret News Semi-Weekly, 15 February 1884; and, Justus Morse, Affidavit, in Shook, True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, p. 170.

[292]Justus Morse, Affidavit, in Shook, True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, p. 170.

[293]See tables 2 and 3.

[294]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 23 December 1843.

[295]Ibid., and Bathsheba W. Smith, Deposition, Eighth Circuit Court Testimony, 1892, carbon copy of original, Church Archives.

[296]Bathsheba W. Smith, Affidavit, published in Joseph Fielding Smith, Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, n.d.), pp. 87-88.

[297]See Table 2.

[298]E. Cecil McGavin, The Nauvoo Temple (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1962), p. 53.

[299]Cf. the Maria J. Woodward Statement (George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, letter dated 21 April 1902), with Sarah G. Richards to Zina Huntington, 20 September 1890, Church Archives. I am grateful to Mrs. Gertrude Richards of Pleasant Grove, Utah, for sharing this latter source with me.

[300]Jane Manning James, Autobiographical sketch, Church Archives.

[301]Maria Jane Woodward, "[Recollection of] Joseph Smith, the Prophet," Young Woman's Journal 17 (December 1906): 544.

[302]Maria Jane Woodward, Statement.

[303]D&C 13. See related teachings of Joseph Smith in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 42-43, 53-54 n19, 54-55 n22, 67, and 90 n26. The quoted words bracketed-in are from Oliver Cowdery's version of the wording given in Joseph Smith--History, p. 59 (1981 ed.).

[304]Ebenezer Robinson, "Utah Not Responsible," The Return 2 (April 1890): 252.

[305]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 10 December 1843.

[306]Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 6 December 1845.

[307]Ibid., 21 December 1845.

[308]Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo, and Incidents from H.C. Kimball's Journal," The Woman's Exponent 12 (1 and 15 August 1883): 26, 34.

[309]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 243.

[310]Ibid.

[311]History of the Church, 5:538, and 553-56.

[312]Jedediah M. Grant, A Collection of Facts Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon, in the States of Ohio, Missouri, Illinois and Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking & Guilbert, Printer, 1844), p. 15.

[313]Ibid.

[314]It seems certain that the meeting of 1 October 1843 was not a meeting called in order to confer the fulness of the priesthood on the heads of both Law and Lyman. This would have contradicted the Prophet's rule that only one man could receive these blessings during one meeting. Furthermore, the minutes say they were "anointed counselors" [as called for in D&C 124:91], and not that they were "anointed to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood" as in the previous meeting notations. Moreover, it was not until 18 April 1845 before Amasa Lyman received the fulness of the priesthood (Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 18 April 1845).

[315]Joseph Smith, Diary, 1 October 1843.

[316]Ibid., 4 October 1843.

[317]Ibid., 8 October 1843.

[318]Ibid., 22 and 27 October 1843: The two words in brackets in each of these entries were in shorthand. Without fleshing out the shorthand, the original entries read: "William Marks and wf (v)nntd," and "Bishop Whitney and wf (v)ntd," where (v) stands for vowel.

[319]Ibid., 28 May 1843.

[320]Brigham Young, Diary, 22 October 1843, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

[321]Joseph Smith, Diary, and Brigham Young, Diary, both for 1 November 1843; Heber C. Kimball, 1840-1845 Journal ["Book 91"], unnumbered p. 114, entry incorrectly dated January 1844; and Helen M. Whitney, Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 14.

[322]Joseph Smith, Diary, 1 November 1843.

[323]Ibid., 5 November 1843.

[324]Ibid., 22 November 1843. The shorthand transcribes as follows: "old house B Young [was] (v)ntd (v)n w(v)f," where (v) stands for vowel.

[325]George A. Smith, Address, 25 December 1874, The Millennial Star 37 (2 February 1875): 66.

[326]Ibid.

[327]George A. Smith to Joseph Smith III, 9 October 1869; and Joseph Smith, Diary, 22 October 1843.

[328]Joseph Smith, Diary, 23 October 1843.

[329]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 4-10 November 1843.

[330]Ibid., 11 November 1843.

[331]Ibid., 2 December 1843.

[332]Ibid., 23 December 1843; and both the Joseph Smith, Diary, and the Willard Richards, Diary, for the same date.

[333]The names of the members of the Twelve who had already begun practicing plural marriage were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, and Orson Hyde. (See Table 2.)

[334]History of the Church, 6:64-97, in passim.

[335]Ibid., pp. 107, 125-32.

[336]Ibid., pp. 131-32.

[337]Ibid., pp. 105-106.

[338]Clayton, Journal, 5 December 1843.

[339]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 250-52.

[340]The Nauvoo Police force was organized because many in Nauvoo feared that Missouri mobs might invade the city as had been rumored in early December. The people wanted policemen to patrol the streets at night to prevent such an occurrence (History of the Church, 6:149-53).

[341]Ibid., p. 152.

[342]Joseph Smith, Diary, and Willard Richards, Diary, both for 30 December 1843.

[343]William Law, Diary, 2 January 1844.

[344]Ibid.

[345]City Council Minutes, 3 January 1844.

[346]Ibid.

[347]Ibid.

[348]The original minutes of the High Council only detail that on 12 August 1843 no business was performed and that there was "Teaching by prest Hiram Smith & William Marks" (Nauvoo High Council Minutes, 12 August 1843).

[349]Franklin D. Richards, "Scriptural Items," 12 August 1843, Church Archives.

[350]Thomas Grover, David Fullmer, and Leonard Soby, affidavits, printed in Jenson, Historical Record, 6:226-28.

[351]Ibid.

[352]Perhaps Charles Smith was referring to this occasion in an 1882 reminiscence when he spoke in the St. George, Utah Tabernacle: "Patriarch Hyrum Smith met with the Elders in Nauvoo in the winter of 1843-4 and there told them that the doctrine of Plurality of Wives had bothered him considerably and he felt constrained to ask wherein Abraham Moses, David & others could be justified before God in practicing this to him repugnant doctrine. He asked his brother the Prophet Joseph to ask this question of the Lord—Joseph did so and the Revelⁿ given 12th July 1843 was the answer." (Charles Smith, Address, 26 November 1882, St. George Stake General Meeting Minutes.)

[353]City Council Minutes, 2 January 1844.

[354]Ibid.

[355]Ibid.

[356]Ibid.

[357]William Law, Diary, 4 January 1844.

[358]Ibid., 5 January 1844.

[359]Ibid.

[360]History of the Church, 6:170.

[361]Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, 2:222.

[362]William Law, Diary, 2 January 1844.

[363]Joseph Smith, Diary, 7 January 1844; and, Willard Richards, Diary, 6 and 7 January 1844.

[364]Bathsheba W. Smith, "Recollections," p. 345.

[365]William Law, Diary, 1 January 1844.

[366]Ibid., 8 January 1844.

[367]Ibid.

[368]Lyndon W. Cook, "'Brother Joseph Is Truly a Wonderful Man, He Is All We Could Wish a Prophet to Be': Pre-1844 Letters of William Law," BYU Studies 20 (Winter 1980): 212.

[369]William Law, Diary, 13 January 1844.

[370]1844 copy of Lawrence estate papers, photocopy in possession of author. I wish to thank Mark William Hofmann for permitting me use of this item.

[371]Indictment of Joseph Smith, filed 23 May 1844 before the May term of the Hancock County Circuit Court, photocopy of holograph, in possession of author. Since Maria and Sarah Lawrence were plural wives whom Emma Smith gave to Joseph, Emma may have told William Law about Joseph's relationship to the Lawrence sisters. Emma and William Law had been engaging in conversations regarding plural marriage. (Clayton, Journal, 3 August 1843, and Affidavits of Lucy Walker Smith Kimball, and Benjamin F. Johnson, in Smith, Blood Atonement, pp. 68, 76).

[372]Entry in hand of Robert L. Campbell, dated 29 July 1868, signed by John M. Bernhisel, in Joseph Smith, Diary, under date given.

[373]Clayton, Journal, 9, 10, 15, 17, and 23 January 1844.

[374]Times and Seasons 5 (15 March 1844):474.

[375]William Law, Diary, 29 March 1844.

[376]Ibid.

[377]"Buckeye's Lamentation for the Want of More Wives," Warsaw Message (7 February 1844): 1. Italics in original; a footnote in the newspaper to the term "red rams" was "B[righam]. Y[oung]. & O[rson]. H[yde]." While I am not aware that any previous study has identified this poem as a composition by both William and Wilson Law, my reasons for this conclusion are simple inferences from three sources. First, the poem itself seems to end with what virtually amounts to a signature line: "Its Liberty and Laws!" (italics in the original). Second, the suspicions that Joseph Smith had that it was the composition of Wilson Law and the cashiering of Wilson Law from the Nauvoo Legion shortly after a second such poem was published in the Warsaw Signal (23 April 1844). And, lastly, the recollection of Joseph A. Ketting of William Law using wording of the "Buckey's Lamentation" when he was personally

objecting to Joseph Smith's practice of plural marriage (see Joseph A. Ketting, Affidavit, 11 September 1903, Affidavits Collection, Church Archives).

[378]Clayton, Journal, 19 October 1843.

[379]Indictment of Joseph Smith, 23 May 1844.

[380]Ibid.

[381]Ibid.

[382]Clayton, Journal, 23 June 1844.

[383]Ibid., 23 January 1844.

[384]Emily D. P. Young, "Incidents," 4 November 1883.

[385]Ibid.

[386]Perhaps it is not very important to know for certain if Thomas Bullock was called in to record this blessing because he was the most adept stenographer in Nauvoo at the time. The fact that Joseph appended the note "Joseph Smith 3 blessing" to the reverse side of the document confirms that Joseph Smith approved of the final draft wording of the blessing-revelation. Also, attesting to its official completeness, moreover, is the fact that unlike most other original manuscript copies of Joseph Smith's revelations, this document is completely punctuated and is in finished form. It was not necessary that the blessing-revelation needed to be taken in shorthand in order to preserve the exact words of Joseph Smith. Parley P. Pratt observed in his Autobiography (p. 62) that when Joseph Smith dictated his revelations he would deliver them slowly enough that a scribe in ordinary longhand would easily be able to record all the words. But if the Joseph Smith III designation document is the total scribal work product of Thomas Bullock, and if he initially reported the blessing in shorthand, he was well skilled to be of service in this clerical responsibility. He knew Taylor shorthand well enough that his accounts of the "King Follett" (7 April 1844) and the "plurality of gods" (16 June 1844) sermons of Joseph Smith are at least twice as complete as any other versions. (See Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 348-55, 378-82.)

[387]Brigham Young, Address, 17 November 1867, Journal of Discourses, 12:103; emphasis added.

[388]See Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 241-42, 300 n19.

[389]Matthias F. Cowley, Wilford Woodruff--History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1964), p. 572.

[390]Willard Richards, Diary, 17 January 1844.

[391]Joseph Smith, Diary, and Clayton, Journal, both for 17 January 1844.

[392]Joseph Smith, III, testimony, cited in Heman C. Smith, "Succession in the Presidency," Journal of History 2 (January 1909): 10-11.

[393]For example, see James Whitehead, testimony, Ibid., pp. 10-11, and William W. Blair, Diary, 17 May 1865, RLDS Library-Archives.

[394]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 17 January 1844.

[395]The diaries of the following men make no reference at all to the designation meeting: Joseph Smith, Willard Richards, William Clayton, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Newel K. Whitney Notebook, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Thomas Bullock, or Erastus Snow.

[396]Joseph Smith III was born 6 November 1832 in Kirtland, Ohio.

[397]James Whitehead, Testimony, Eighth Circuit Court Testimony, 1892, carbon copy of deposition, Church Archives.

[398]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 317-19.

[399]D&C 110:13-16.

[400]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 318.

[401]Ibid.

[402]Ibid., pp. 318-19.

[403]Ibid., p. 319.

[404]H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," pp. 120-21; History of the Church, 5:1-2; John E. Bennion to "Dear Bro Samuel," 19 February 1844, photocopy of holograph, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Franklin D. Richards, "Scriptural Items," undated entry for 27 August 1843, cited in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 245, 303 n21.

[405]For example, see Orson Hyde, "A Diagram of the Kingdom of God," Millennial Star 9 (15 January 1847): 23-24 (reproduced in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 297-99).

[406]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 241.

[407]Ibid., p. 331.

[408]Brigham Young, Address, 7 October 1863, Church Archives. Writing sometime between 10 December 1845 and the time of his mission to England in early 1846, Oliver B. Huntington (who was living in the Mansion House when David Hyrum Smith was born) said, "At the time of his birth, it was intimated by old Mrs. Durphee [a member of the Quorum and a plural wife of Joseph Smith] and others that Joseph the prophet, had said that he (David Hyram [sic] which name Joseph gave him before his death) was to be the David the Bible speaks of to rule over Israel forever, which David spoken of most of [the] people took to be old King David" (Oliver B. Huntington, Journal, BYU Special Collections typescript, vol. 1, p. 53). Another manner in which Joseph Smith might have conceived that the biblical prophecies regarding David could have been fulfilled is suggested by the 27 July 1842 revelation giving the wording of the marriage ceremony between Sarah Ann Whitney and Joseph Smith (Church Archives). This revelation-ceremony promised to Joseph and Sarah that "by right of birth which is of priest Hood . . . all those powers [the Ancient Patriarchal leaders had should] concentrate in you and through you to your posterity forever . . . [and] that through the power of anointing David may reign King over Israel which shall hereafter be revealed." Perhaps because of this wording, Sarah Ann and Heber C. Kimball (Joseph Smith's proxy after the Martyrdom) gave the name David to the three successive boys born to them. (Each of the first two died before the birth of the next boy.) They apparently felt that the eldest son should be named David in order to fulfill the wording of the revelation, and possibly also provide an alternative to David Hyrum Smith if he did not rise up and fulfill this expectation. For it was clear at the birth of Sarah Ann Kimball's first child that Emma Smith was not going to emigrate West with either David Hyrum Smith or Joseph Smith III. (Concerning the David of the Last Days to rule in Jerusalem, see 2 Samuel 7:8-29 [esp. v. 8-19]; Ezekiel 34:23-25; 37:21-28; Zechariah 3; Isaiah 55:3-5; Jeremiah 30:4-9; and, Psalms 89:1-4.)

[409]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 12 June 1860; Historian's Office Journal, 15 August 1860 and 6 June 1868, and, Brigham Young, Addresses, 7 October 1863 and 7 October 1866, all in the Church Archives.

[410]Pearl of Great Price, Articles of Faith, 10.

[411]D&C 130: 14-17, and Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 179-80.

[412]Isaiah 11.

[413]Smith, "Succession in the Presidency," pp. 10-11.

[414]To the best of my knowledge, there exists only one reference--a secondhand reminiscence attributed to Bathsheba W. Smith and not published until after her death that she in the Prophet's Red Brick Store was sealed to her parents. There is strong evidence that this secondhand account is an error. Apparently following Joseph Smith's precedent, Brigham Young never authorized that sealings or adoptions could be performed outside a temple. Thus, while

authorization was given so that every other ordinance of the temple was administered outside a temple during the period of 1846-1877, the sealing of parents and children was not. Wilford Woodruff, who did not have the privilege of temple ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple, remarked, that when these ordinances were first performed again in the St. George Temple in 1877, that that was the first time he had ever witnessed the ceremony of sealing parents and children. Apostle Woodruff's statement seems positive evidence, therefore, that the ordinance of sealing of parents and children was never attended to in Anointed Quorum meetings. Wilford Woodruff, who was initiated to the Quorum three weeks before Bathsheba W. Smith, attended all the Quorum meetings she attended.

[415]"A blessing given to Joseph Smith, 3rd, by his father, Joseph Smith, Junr., on Jany. 17. 1844," RLDS Library-Archives.

[416]William Clayton, Journal, 12 July 1844.

[417]Joseph Smith, Diary, 20 January 1844.

[418]Willard Richards, Diary, 20 January 1844.

[419]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 20 January 1844.

[420]Ibid., under date given. That Joseph Smith was not present, see Joseph Smith, Diary, under same date.

[421]Ibid.

[422]Ibid.

[423]Ibid.

[424]Ibid.

[425]Ibid.

[426]Ibid.

[427]George A. Smith, Address, 25 December 1874, Millennial Star 37 (2 February 1875): 66.

[428]Heber C. Kimball, Journal, kept by William Clayton, 26 December 1845.

[429]These facts are made graphically clear in Figure 1, discussed later in this paper.

[430]Joseph Smith, Diary, 29 Janaury 1844.

[431]Ibid.

[432]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 319-20.

[433]Ibid., p. 320.

[434]For Joseph Smith's platform to have worked would have required the more powerful central government that only came twenty years later with the "due process" clause of the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Moreover, he advocated Texas annexation when the two national parties were equivocal on the issue. The parties were uneasy over the Texas question because of the nation's general ambivalence regarding adding a Southern state to the Union.

[435]History of the Church, 6:221.

[436]Joseph Smith, Diary, 20 February 1844.

[437]Ibid., 21 February 1844.

[438]Ibid., 23 February 1844.

[439]Joseph Smith, Diary, and Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 23 and 24 January 1844.

[440]See entries in Joseph Smith, Diary, and Wilford Woodruff, Journal, for 2 and 3 February 1844.

[441]Joseph Smith, Diary, 25 February 1844.

[442]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 25 February 1844.

[443]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 331.

[444]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 25 February 1844.

[445]Joseph Smith, Diary, 4 March 1844.

[446]History of the Church, 5:45, 57-58.

[447]Their letters were dated 15 February 1844, five days before Joseph instructed the Twelve Apostles to organize an exploring expedition of the West (History of the Church, 6:255).

[448]Joseph Smith, Diary, 8 March 1844.

[449]H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," p. 131.

[450]Ibid.

[451]See Andrew F. Ehat, "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," BYU Studies 20 (Spring 1980): 254-57.

[452]Joseph Smith Translation, Revelation 12:1-3, 7.

[453]See Quinn, "The Council of Fifty," pp. 178-83, and Ehat, "The Constitution of the Kingdom of God," pp. 257-58, 265.

[454]Joseph F. Smith Minutes of the Council of Fifty, 10 April 1880, cited in Ehat, "The Constitution of the Kingdom of God," p. 254.

[455]The 1 January 1845 entry in William Clayton, Journal, has the most complete version of the revelation and is cited in Ibid., p. 268.

[456]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 245.

[457]See Table 2.

[458]Ibid.

[459]In Joseph Smith's editorial "The Government of God" published in the Nauvoo Times and Seasons and reprinted in Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, comp. by Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967), p. 252. See also Ehat, "The Constitution of the Kingdom of God," pp. 265-66.

[460]Ehat,"The Constitution of the Kingdom of God," p. 275. * * *

[461]Ibid., pp. 257-59, 267, and 275.

[462]Ibid., p. 259.

[463]Ibid., pp. 259-61.

[464]Ibid., pp. 263-65.

[465]See Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," pp. 132, 136; History of the Church, 6:270, 274, 275-77, and 281-82; and Joseph Smith, Diary, 20 March 1844.

[466]Joseph Smith, Diary, 13 March 1844, and 3, 6 May 1844; and History of the Church, 5:417, 453; 6:41.

[467]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 337-38; and Joseph Smith, Diary, 24 March 1844.

[468]History of the Church, 6:279-80.

[469]William Clayton, Journal, 23 March 1844.

[470]William Law, Diary, 29 March 1844.

[471]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 336.

[472]Ibid., p. 337.

[473]Ibid.

[474]Quinn, "Mormon Succession," p. 207.

[475]Joseph Smith, Diary, 26 March 1844.

[476]Benjamin F. Johnson, "A Life's Sketch," Church Archives. The italicized words are not in the published version of this "Sketch" (Johnson, My Life's Review, p. 99).

[477]Zimmerman, I Knew the Prophets, p. 35.

[478]Ibid. pp. 31-32; underlining in the original.

[479]Ibid., p. 31.

[480]Ibid., pp. 35-36. The first six words and the last two words underlined are as in the original; otherwise italics are added for emphasis.

[481]Johnson, My Life's Review, pp. 99-100.

[482]Undated, unsigned manuscript prepared between September 1844 and March 1845, in hand of Orson Hyde, intended to be signed by members of the Quorum of the Twelve, but never published, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives. I am grateful to Ronald K. Esplin for bringing this item to my attention in 1976, and to Dean C. Jessee for identifying the handwriting.

[483]Ibid., italics added.

[484]Journal of Discourses, 13:180.

[485]Ibid., p. 164.

[486]"Far West Record," July 1834.

[487]Smith, Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 90.

[488]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

[489]Ibid., p. 91.

[490]Ibid.

[491]History of the Church, 2:379.

[492]Ibid., pp. 379-82.

[493]Ibid.

[494]Ibid., pp. 391-92, 410, 429.

[495]Joseph Smith, Diary, 30 March 1836.

[496]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 116.

[497]Ibid., p. 130.

[498]Ibid., pp. 130-31.

[499]Ibid., p. 131.

[500]History of the Church, 5:139-40.

[501]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 146.

[502]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 339.

[503]Ibid., p. 340.

[504]See publication of all reports in Ibid., pp. 350-62.

[505]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 146-48.

[506]History of the Church, 6:299.

[507]Hyrum Smith, Discourse, 7 April 1844, Thomas Bullock Report, Church Archives.

[508]William Law, Diary, 15 April 1844.

[509]Ibid.

[510]Joseph Smith, Diary, 18 April 1844, and loose sheet minutes of the trial, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

[511]William Law, Diary, 1 June 1844, and History of the Church, 6:346-47.

[512]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 154.

[513]The prospectus of the Nauvoo Expositor, published 10 May 1844, said it would expose and oppose all these doctrines.

[514]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 154.

[515]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 367-72.

[516]William Law, Diary, 13 May 1844.

[517]Ibid., the cross-outs are as in the typescript. Sometime between 29 March and 17 April 1844, Joseph apparently went by the Law home and had an interview with Jane Law. While the details differ in the two reports that recount what happened (18 April 1844 loose sheet minutes of William Law excommunication trial, Brigham Young Collection, and Alexander Neibaur, Journal, 24 May 1844, both in Church Archives), it seems apparent that William Law was indeed hurt that the Prophet refused to seal him and Jane. As noted before, these difficulties began on 26 May 1843, when Law was not included in the sealing meetings of 28 and 29 May 1843. Now in May 1844, a year later, Law was a distraught, disillusioned, yet resolute dissenter. And Joseph knew it.

[518]Law, Diary, 13 May 1844.

[519]Ibid.

[520]19 March 1844 entry in William Clayton, Journal, cited in Ehat, "The Constitution of The Kingdom of God," p. 267.

[521]Grant, "A Collection of Facts," p. 16.

[522]Orson Hyde, Speech of Elder Orson Hyde, Delivered before the High Priests' Quorum, in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845, Upon the Course and Conduct of Mr. Sydney [sic] Rigdon, and Upon the Merits of his Claims to the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Liverpool: James and Woodburn, 1845), pp. 8-9.

[523]Grant, "A Collection of Facts," p. 16. That Grant was not speaking of the Anointed Quorum seems certain since Grant, who became a member of the Council of Fifty, never became a member of the Quorum and yet he speaks with certainty regarding Rigdon's reaction to membership in a council of which Grant was also a member (Heber C. Kimball, Diary, 3 December 1845). More conclusive, however, is the fact that Rigdon's May 1844 initiation to the Quorum obviously did not precede his membership in a "council" that so "revived" his faith that he spoke long and enthusiastically at the April 1844 general conference.

[524]The original reports of Sidney Rigdon's April 1844 discourses are in the Miscellaneous Minutes Collection, Church Archives, and are reproduced in History of the Church, 6: 288-97.

[525]Joseph Smith, Diary, 6 May 1844.

[526]The proceedings of the Convention are in History of the Church, 6:386-97.

[527]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 154-57.

[528]U.S. Const., art. II, sec. 1, and amend, XI.

[529]See F. Mark McKiernan's chapter on Sidney Rigdon's Nauvoo experiences entitled "A Stranger among the Children of God, 1842-1844," in The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971), pp. 115-31.

[530]See tables 1 and 2.

[531]See Times and Seasons 5 (2 September 1844): 638; and, History of the Church, 7:238.

[532]"Wilford Woodruff to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 11 October 1844, Times and Seasons 5 (1 November 1844): 698.

[533]History of the Church, 6:391.

[534]William Law, Diary, 13 May 1844.

[535]William Law, Affidavit, 17 July 1885, cited in Shook, The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy, p. 128, and William Law, Diary, 10 June 1844.

[536]History of the Church, 6:432ff.

[537]Ibid., pp. 453-54.

[538]Ibid., pp. 453-58.

[539]Ibid., pp. 462-64.

[540]Ibid., p. 465, italics in the original.

[541]Ibid.

[542]Ibid., pp. 463-64.

[543]Ibid., pp. 466-71.

[544]Ibid., p. 471.

[545]See contemporary reports of Joseph Smith's 16 June 1844 discourse in Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 378-83. Law's denunciation of the doctrine of plurality of gods appears in the Nauvoo Expositor (7 June 1844).

[546]History of the Church, 6:480.

[547]Ibid., pp. 482-83.

[548]Ibid., pp. 485-87.

[549]Ibid., pp. 496-97, 519.

[550]Ibid., pp. 521-22.

[551]Ibid., pp. 524-27, 542-48.

[552]Ronald K. Esplin, "Martyrdom Letters," p. 235.

[553]Letter of Joseph Smith to Maria and Sarah Lawrence, 23 June 1844, in possession of Mark William Hofmann, and used by permission.

[554]History of the Church, 6:548-50.

[555]Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 21 December 1845, and Oliver B. Huntington, Journal, 22 April 1897.

[556]Sarah G. Richards to Zina Huntington, 20 September 1890, Church Archives.

[557]Ibid.

[558]William Clayton, Journal, 22 June 1844, cited in Ehat, "The Constitution of the Kingdom of God," p. 268.

[559]Clayton, Journal, 23 June 1844.

[560]Joseph Smith, Diary, 22 June 1844.

[561]Willard Richards, Diary, starting 22 June 1844.

[562]Ibid., 26 June 1844.

[563]William Law, Diary, 28 June 1844.

[564]Clayton, Journal, 28 June 1844; and Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 30 June 1844, in Esplin, "Martyrdom Letters," pp. 238-39.

[565]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 19 August 1860.

[566]"The Murder," Times and Seasons 5 (15 June 1844): 585; italics in the original.

[567]D&C 111 (1844 edition): D&C 135 (present LDS edition).

[568]Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 21 December 1845.

[569]Sally Randall to "Dear Friends," 30 June 1844; and D&C 135: 7.

[570]Willard Richards, Diary, 3 August 1844.

[571]Ibid., 4 August 1844.

[572]Times and Seasons 5 (15 September 1844): 651.

[573]Willard Richards, Diary, 4 August 1844.

[574]Ibid.

[575]Ibid.

[576]Clayton, Journal, 4 August 1844.

[577]Richards, Diary, 5 August 1844.

[578]Clayton, Journal, 6 August 1844, and Richards, Diary, 6 August 1844.

[579]Clayton, Journal, 6 August 1844.

[580]Ibid., 7 August 1844.

[581]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 7 August 1844.

[582]Ibid., 6 August 1844.

[583]Elden Jay Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young 1801-1844 (Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), pp. 170-71.

[584]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 18 July 1844.

[585]Ibid., See Hebrews 9:16-17.

[586]The following summary is based upon the contemporary records of this meeting kept by Willard Richards and William Clayton in their respective diaries.

[587]The published version of these minutes indicates that Sidney Rigdon claimed that he received his vision on the day of the Martyrdom. The original minutes clarify that Sidney did not make such a lavish claim. Orson Hyde (who was not yet in Nauvoo to hear Sidney's story) less than a year later claimed that Sidney had made such a claim (see Orson Hyde "Speech," p. 11.)

[588]Ann Lee Stanley (1736-84) claimed to be the female incarnation of Jesus Christ and was leader of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming, otherwise known as the Shaking Quakers.

[589]William Clayton, Journal, 7 August 1844, emphasis added.

[590]History of the Church, 7:230.

[591]See Matthew 18:18.

[592]George A. Smith, Address, 21 December 1845, Heber C. Kimball, Journal, under date given.

[593]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 7 August 1844.

[594]Clayton, Journal, 7 August 1844.

[595]These reports are in the Miscellaneous Minutes Collection, Church Archives.

[596]Brigham Young, Diary, 8 August 1844.

[597]It is generally thought that all the Twelve Apostles that were then present in Nauvoo were present when Brigham Young first confronted Sidney Rigdon during this morning meeting. However, only Brigham was present (Clayton, Journal, 8 August 1844).

[598]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 8 August 1844. Cf. B. H. Roberts note, History of the Church, 7:230.

[599]Clayton, Journal, and Willard Richards, Diary, 8 August 1844.

[600]Thomas Bullock report of proceedings, 8 August 1844, Church Archives.

[601]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 8 August 1844.

[602]Ibid.

[603]Ibid. Cf. Brigham Young's comments on "file leader" at the 9 December 1843 meeting of the Anointed Quorum, cited earlier in this paper at note 305.

[604]History of the Church, 7:234-35n.

[605]Thomas Bullock Report, 8 August 1844.

[606]Ibid.

[607]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 8 August 1844.

[608]Thomas Bullock Report, augmented by Wilford Woodruff, Journal. The italicized words come from the Woodruff Journal.

[609]Thomas Bullock Report, 8 August 1844, and Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 8 August 1844.

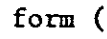
[610]Thomas Bullock Report, 8 August 1844.

[611]Ibid.

[612]Ibid.

[613]Clayton, Journal, 8 August 1844.

[614]Willard Richards, Diary, 9-10 August 1844.

[615]Clayton, Journal, 11 August 1844. The Willard Richards, Diary, for 9 August 1844, is where it is recorded that the Twelve Apostles decided to wait before women would again be admitted to the Anointed Quorum. In that entry Willard Richards first recorded the word "women" but then crossed that word out and substituted the shorthand form () which transcribes as "wmn" or the word "women."

[616]Clayton, Journal, 7 December 1845, cited in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 48n.

[617]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 15 August 1844.

[618]Clayton, Journal, 15 August 1844.

[619]Ibid., 22 December 1844.

[620]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 25 August 1844.

[621]Ibid. There is a manuscript report of Orson Hyde's discourse in Taylor shorthand kept by Thomas Bullock. At the time of this writing, I have transcribed the entire sermon but have not completely interpreted the meaning of all of Bullock's short forms.

[622]Samuel W. Richards to Franklin D. Richards, 23-26 August 1844, Church Archives, underscoring in the original. I am grateful for the generosity of Ronald K. Esplin in sharing this source with me.

[623]D&C 107:24.

[624]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 155.

[625]Joseph and Hannah Fielding were in the Prophet's lifetime endowed and sealed for time and eternity, but (as he notes here), they, in the lifetime of Joseph Smith, never received the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood. Perhaps they received those ordinances following the death of Joseph Smith under the hands of the Twelve Apostles as George Miller and his wife, Joseph Young and his wife, and Amasa Lyman and his wife did (see Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 7 December 1845).

[626]1 Peter 3:18-20; 4:6; Isaiah 61:1; D&C 76: 73-74; and, Moses 7:38-40 (23-45), 55-47.

[627]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 153-54.

[628]John S. Fullmer to "Uncle John," 27 September 1844, Church Archives.

[629]Nauvoo High Council Minutes, 30 November 1844, Church Archives. Orson Hyde was not present when these High Council minutes were approved. Thus, if he had wanted to correct the date of the "Last Charge" from 23 March 1844 (as given in these minutes) to 26 March 1844 (the only date the Council of Fifty met between 21 March and 4 April 1844) he would not have had a chance to do so. Joseph Smith (as discussed in the text pp. 160 ff.) was busy 23 March 1844 securing affidavits and was not in a meeting of the Fifty.

[630]Ibid. Josiah Ells later became a member of the "Kingdom of God" of Sidney Rigdon's "Church of Christ" in Pennsylvania, and finally a member of the RLDS Church. He was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve of the RLDS Church at the time of his death.

[631]Letter of Phineas H. Young et. al. to Brigham Young, 31 December 1844, Church Archives.

[632]Clayton, Journal, 29 August 1844.

[633]"Trial of Elder Rigdon," Times and Seasons 5 (15 September 1844): 648, italics in the original.

[634]See Table 1. In fact, Joseph Fielding speculated that William Marks was the one who taught Sidney Rigdon what he needed to know in order to perform the ordinances (see Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 156-57).

[635]Times and Seasons 5 (15 September 1844): 648-49; italics in the original.

[636]George A. Smith, Diary, 3 September 1844, Church Archives.

[637]Ibid.

[638]Times and Seasons 5 (15 September 1844): 649.

[639]George A. Smith, Diary, 3 September 1844.

[640]Times and Seasons 5 (2 September 1844): 639.

[641]Clayton, Journal, 4 September 1844.

[642]Ibid.

[643]Ibid.

[644]See especially Orson Hyde to Ebenezer Robinson, 19 September 1844, cited in "Utah Not Responsible," The Return 2 (April 1890): 253.

[645]D&C 107:82-84.

[646]D&C 107:82.

[647]Times and Seasons 5 (15 September 1844): 648-49.

[648]Ibid.

[649]Ibid., 649.

[650]Ibid., pp. 649-50.

[651]Ibid., pp. 651.

[652]Ibid. This statement is perhaps the most often quoted reference to the "Last Charge" of any statement in LDS literature. It clearly, however, is a summary statement regarding the months of preparation on the part of the Prophet in both administering the ordinances of the Anointed Quorum and the organization of the Council of Fifty. The March 1844 meeting referred to by Elder Hyde is clearly the "Last Charge" meeting which in the Apostles' minds was the summation and consummation of the Prophet's energies in laying the foundation of the Latter-day Church and Kingdom of God. Apparently he believes that though Sidney Rigdon was at this time a member of the Council of Fifty he was not present on the occasion of the charge.

[653]Ibid., pp. 652-54, emphasis added.

[654]See D&C 124:145.

[655]See Times and Seasons 5 (15 September 1844): 654.

[656]Ibid., pp. 654-55.

[657]Orson Hyde, "Speech," pp. 14-16.

[658]History of the Church, 7: 224-25.

[659]Ibid., p. 225.

[660]All quotations from this "revelation" are from the copy of the revelation in the Warren Post Papers, microfilm of holograph, BYU Microfilm reading room, Harold B. Lee Library; emphasis added to the last quotation.

[661]William Law, Remarks in Kirtland Temple, 20 February 1845, reported in Sidney Rigdon to Editor, n.d., Latter Day Saint's Messenger and Advocate 1 (15 March 1845): 145.

[662]Willard Richards, Diary, 19 August 1844.

[663]"Minutes," Messenger and Advocate of the Church of Christ 1 (15 April 1845): 168-76; (1 May 1845): 185-90.

[664]Ibid., pp. 168-74.

[665]Ibid., pp. 168-69, and pp. 171-78.

[666]Ibid.

[667]Times and Seasons 5 (1 October 1844): 661.

[668]Ibid., pp. 661-62; emphasis added.

[669]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," pp. 155-57.

[670]Times and Seasons 5 (1 October 1844): 663.

[671]Ibid., p. 664.

[672]See Figure 1.

[673]Times and Seasons 5 (1 October 1844): 664.

[674]Ibid., pp. 663-64.

[675]Ibid., p. 664.

[676]Ibid.

[677]Ibid.

[678]Ibid.

[679]Ibid., pp. 664-65.

[680]Ibid., p. 665.

[681]D&C 102.

[682]Times and Seasons 5 (1 October 1844): 665.

[683]Ibid.

[684]Ibid.

[685]Ibid.

[686]Ibid.

[687]Marks did not remember that Hyrum Smith, too, had received such an "ordination" (see D&C 124:94-95). He probably did not understand that the Twelve Apostles were considered in 1836 as "Prophets and Seers" (Joseph Smith, Diary, 27 March 1836) and that this portion of the Manuscript History of the Church during the lifetime of Joseph Smith had been drafted to say that the Twelve were considered in Kirtland (as we now read in the published entry) as "Prophets, Seers and Revelators" (History of the Church, 2:417).

[688]Times and Seasons 5 (1 October 1844): 665.

[689]Ibid., p. 664.

[690]Ibid., pp. 666-67.

[691]See material cited earlier in this paper between notes 82-109.

[692]Times and Seasons 5 (15 October 1844): 686.

[693]Though Sidney Rigdon received his endowment, he did not receive it until May of 1844, nearly two months after the March 1844 Last Charge.

[694]Ibid., p. 686.

[695]Ibid.

[696]Ibid.

[697]Ibid.

[698]Ibid.

[699]Ibid.

[700]Ibid.

[701]Ibid.

[702]Orson Hyde to Ebenezer Robinson, 19 September 1844, cited in The Return 2 (April 1890): 253; italics in the original. Contemporary corroboration of this letter may be found in a letter of Ebenezer Robinson "To the Saints, throughout the World, Greeting" in which he quotes from the Hyde letter: "If the twelve have received a charge from Joseph, as they say he charged them 'to let no man take their crown.' (See Latter Day Saint's Messenger and Advocate 1 (16 December 1844): 60. Robinson was at this time in charge of publishing the Messenger and Advocate for Sidney Rigdon.)

[703]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 158.

[704]"Book of Adoptions & Sealings of Parents & Children," pp. 8-9, Nauvoo Temple Records Collection, Church Archives.

[705]Ibid.

[706]Clayton, Journal, 15 August 1844; spelling corrected.

[707]Ibid.

[708]Eugene England, "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal," BYU Studies 18 (Winter 1978): 177.

[709]Richard O. Cowan, Temple Building Ancient and Modern (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), p. 29; and a count from the "Book of Anointings," Nauvoo Temple Records Collection, Church Archives.

[710]Ehat, "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," p. 159.

[711]History of the Church, 7:580.

[712]Journal History, 20 August 1845.

[713]William Smith, "Proclamation," Warsaw Signal (29 October 1845).

[714]Ibid., and Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," p. 135.

[715]Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life's Review, p. 107.

[716]Joseph Smith III, The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832-1914): A Photo-Reprint Edition of the Original Serial Publication as edited by Mary Audentia Smith Anderson and Appearing in The Saints' Herald (November 6, 1934-July 31, 1937), ed. Richard P. Howard, (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1979), p. 74.

[717]Ibid., pp. 70-71. See also Joseph Smith III to John Henry Smith, 20 January 1886, John Henry Smith Papers, George Albert Smith Family Collection, University of Utah Library.

[718]Reed C. Durham, Jr. and Steven H. Heath, Succession in the Church (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), pp. 73-77, discusses Brigham Young's actions regarding the question of seniority in the Twelve explicitly in view of the possibility of his death. On other occasions seniority questions occurred, but not explicitly in view of the possibility of Brigham Young's death and the occasion of succession.

[719]Brigham Young, Address, 3 June 1860, Journal of Discourses, 8:69.

[720]Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 12 June 1860.

[721]Historian's Office Journal, 15 August 1860, Church Archives.

[722]Ibid.

[723]Brigham Young, Discourse, 7 October 1863, Church Archives (spelling retained as in original without use of [sic]).

[724]Historian's Office Journal, 6 June 1868.

[725]Ehat and Cook, Words of Joseph Smith, p. 210, punctuation and spelling corrected.

[726]Apparently David Hyrum had never spoken with his mother on the doctrine though he had been serving in the RLDS movement since its inception twelve years before and had always before this time maintained his father's innocence of the "crime."

[727]David Hyrum Smith to "Bro. Sherman," 27 July 1872, RLDS Library-Archives.

[728]Ibid.

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JOSEPH SMITH'S INTRODUCTION OF TEMPLE ORDINANCES AND THE 1844 MORMON SUCCESSION QUESTION

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ABSTRACT

The murder of Joseph Smith in June 1844 created a complex succession problem for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The immediate question, however, was whether the Quorum of Twelve Apostles should lead the Church or whether Sidney Rigdon, counselor in the First Presidency, should alone lead. On 8 August 1844 the Church in Nauvoo unanimously chose to follow Brigham Young and the Twelve. They were sustained in large part because they constituted the priesthood quorum Joseph Smith designated to be the stewards of his temple revelations, should anything happen to him. The revelations included the higher priesthood ordinances of the temple: the endowment, eternal marriage, plural marriage and the fulness of the priesthood. The apostles, however, did not feel that the unique position qualifying them for immediate leadership allowed them to disregard Joseph Smith's intention that his eleven-year-old son, Joseph Smith III, should eventually be successor. Nevertheless, the interim leadership of the apostles became permanent when Joseph Smith III rejected the efficacy of the temple revelations received by his father.

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This thesis, by Andrew F. Ehat, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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